

Social Questions

BULLETIN

of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, a membership organization which seeks to deepen within the Church the sense of social obligation and opportunity to study, from the Christian point of view, social problems and their solution; and to promote social action in the spirit of Jesus. The Federation rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society and seeks to replace it with social-economic planning to develop a society without class or group discriminations and privileges.

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Bishop Brooks Heads Federation



KANSAS CITY, MO.—Bishop Robert N. Brooks of New Orleans, La., one of the 33 bishops who, together, supervise the 40,000 pulpits of the Methodist Church, was made president of the Methodist Federation for Social Action at its annual meeting here, December 27-29.

He is shown receiving the gavel from his predecessor, Bishop Lewis O. Hartman of Boston, Mass. Before election to the episcopacy Bishop Hartman was for 20 years editor of *Zion's Herald*, Methodism's oldest weekly, early abolition paper and century-long crusader for racial justice.

The organization which Bishop Brooks now heads is a self-supporting body composed of about 4,500 Methodist bishops, ministers and laymen from all parts of the country. Its offices are in New York, the Rev. Jack McMichael, formerly of Georgia, is executive secretary.

Bishop Brooks recently returned from a mission to Africa on which he had been sent by the Council of Bishops.

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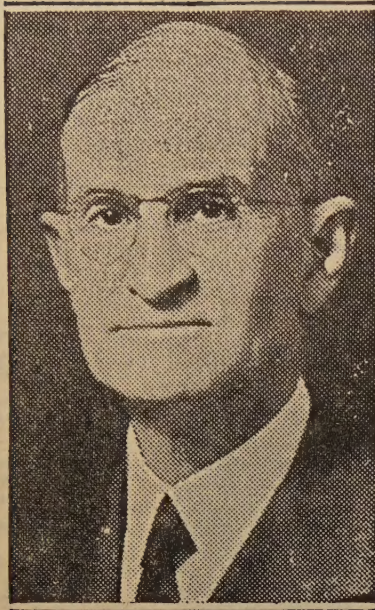
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Blind Alleys and Open Roads

BISHOP LEWIS O. HARTMAN



BISHOP LEWIS O. HARTMAN

As we come toward the close of the quadrennium of 1944-48 and are approaching the General Conference of The Methodist Church, it may honestly be said that the Methodist Federation for Social Action has made good progress along the highway of the Lord. From the standpoint of numbers, the record is highly encouraging. Four years ago, the membership of the organization was about 1,000 and there were some six Annual Conference federations or societies. Today the membership is 4,057, an increase of approximately 305 per cent, and there are 65 chapters, an increase of 983 per cent.

But beyond statistics, which at best can furnish only a limited standard of judgment, there are other evidences of genuine advance. While, broadly speaking, we are living in a time of dangerous reaction, it may be said that, within the church, the climate of public opinion on social questions has shown marked improvement. The Christian conscience has become more sensitive, for example, on the war problem and on the race question, though the hindering brake of fear and excessive caution prevents anything like an adequate implementation of our convictions on these issues. There is also, even among ministers and laymen who have no connection with the Federation, a growing impatience with the threat against civil liberties.

There is encouragement likewise in the increasing willingness of both conservative and liberal leaders within the church to sit down together and talk things through on such subjects as, for instance, the relations between labor and management. While, in the opinion of many persons, the Pittsburgh Conference on the Church and Economic Life lacked any real "cutting edge," nevertheless it was significant as a piece of pioneering work. The "Little Pittsburghs" that are now being held in various parts of the country will, I believe, be productive of wholesome results.

The Federation is in good hands. The executive secretary possesses qualities that especially fit him for leadership in a confessedly difficult field. He has an attractive personality, abounding optimism, open-mindedness, tolerance, courage, a keen understanding of social questions, tireless energy, and excellent speaking ability. The editor of the *Social Questions Bulletin* likewise is making a highly significant contribution in the field of social progress. He is a good journalist. The articles and the editorials are thought-provoking—to some critics, just provoking. The editor is making people think, and that is a matter of primary importance. He consistently maintains the open-forum principle. The *Bulletin* deserves, and should have, a wider circulation.

We now face the new quadrennium of 1948-52. The next four years, if we can judge by present trends, will be a period of the tensest kind of stress and strain. We are in the midst of a social upheaval which embraces the whole wide world and affects every phase of human existence. To the Methodist Federation for Social Action, all this spells, not only danger, but also opportunity in capital letters. Before us, then, as I see it, are both blind alleys and open roads. It behooves all liberals, therefore, as wise travelers, to study the map and to exercise care in distinguishing main thoroughfares from the little byways that lead nowhere.

What of the future of the Federation? It is quite possible for individuals or groups to be betrayed by their very idealism. In an organization like the Federation, there is always danger of the members' being led into the blind alley of partizanship. Idealists, in their eagerness to reach the shining goal, often respond too readily to short cuts and oversimplifications. The single tax is alluring; so are some magic plans for world peace and easy proposals for quick church union. The totalitarians—both Fascist and Communist—seek by stifling freedom of the press, assemblage, and discussion, and by calling down fire from heaven in the form of secret police and military force, to impose the millennium at once upon the ignorant masses of mankind. We should not be led astray by the espousal of any get-rich-quick scheme in the social field. We must not, moreover, allow ourselves to be used to forward any social, economic, industrial, or international reform except in so far as it is based upon the principles of the gospel of Jesus—the existence of God, the supremacy of love, the sanctity of the human spirit, the method of persuasion, and the way of cooperation and sacrifice. Our pattern is the kingdom of God on earth. To that we are devoted. We dare not narrow down this high calling.

Nevertheless, we are under obligation to recognize and endorse noble aims and ideals as well as deeds of righteous-

(Continued on next page)

A GOLDEN RULE

Do all the good you can
By all the means you can
In all the ways you can
In all the places you can
At all the times you can
To all the people you can
As long as ever you can.

Keynote address delivered December 27, 1947, at the National Membership Meeting of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, National College for Christian Workers, Kansas City, Mo.

—J. Wesley

ness wherever they appear. This duty may bring us into association with individuals and groups whose motives and methods we cannot countenance and may even despise. Bishop Gilbert Haven once gave utterance to the truth "A radical cannot choose his own company." It is conceivable that in some situations Christians, Communists, Fascists, atheists and agnostics, Republicans, Democrats and Socialists, might be found together supporting, although for widely differing reasons, some common program for the welfare of humanity. That fact should not classify the whole company in any one of these eight brackets.

A great metropolitan daily, commenting editorially on the recently published black list of so-called subversive organizations and the membership of honest liberals in some of them, quoted the popular saying "A man is known by the company he keeps." I simply remark that Jesus Himself ate with publicans and sinners.

The Federation is growing. Its membership is larger now than ever before in its history. Its organization is rapidly being perfected upon democratic lines. We rejoice in this progress, but at the same time there is need for a warning. We must not confuse the means with the end or exalt the instrument at the expense of the purpose. Organizations tend to grow static, to lose their inner life and power with the passing of the years. This must not happen to the Methodist Federation for Social Action. We welcome new members, whether they are of the conservative or the liberal persuasion, provided only they are in earnest for a better world. We need money, but we are "not for sale." We desire the best possible organization, but we do not care to be overwhelmed with the task of constantly tinkering with machinery. On our pilgrimage, then, we determinedly pass by this blind alley.

A tempter clothed as an angel of light stands at the entrance of my third blind alley. He invites us to seek General Conference sanction and endorsement for the Federation as an "official" organization of Methodism. It is pointed out that, under such an arrangement, the gates would be opened for a very large increase in membership. Then too, if the organization was official, would not its pronouncements come with added weight? Furthermore, with the change from unofficial to official, there might be the possibility of a regular appropriation from World Service each year to finance the operations of the Federation.

The proposal has its elements of attractiveness. I am of the opinion, however, that the Federation's non-official status is indispensable if the organization is to continue its pioneering work in the social field and preserve its cutting edge. We appreciate the name "Methodist" in our title, and seek in every way to protect it, especially by using the term "unofficial" on our letterheads and in our literature. We are also grateful for the "blessing" of the General Conference of 1944 in the words of the Discipline: "For three generations the Methodist Federation for Social Service (unofficial) has pioneered in the field now under consideration (The Church and Economics). It has a history of achievement in stimulating thought and action of which the church is proud." We shall not, I trust, be tempted to become just another official organization.

Branching off the main road is a byway called "exclusiveness." It leads to a dead end. Liberals tend to fall into much the same traps that conservatives do. There is the danger, common to all of us, of cliquishness and conceit. We are sometimes inclined to think that we are blessed with the vision of a better society while the rest of the world lies in darkness. Like Elijah, we are tempted to cry out, "I only am left." In the days of the holiness movement, discerning critics were skeptical of anyone who professed entire sanctification and testified that he was free of all sin and indeed could not sin. Liberals need to be warned against a holier-than-thou attitude.

A few years ago an absolute pacifist called at my office. He was hard and dogmatic, without any give-and-take, and

treated all my contributions to the discussion of war and peace with a cynical, condescending smile that was maddening. Apparently, in his own opinion, he alone had the truth.

We liberals are under high obligation to maintain open minds, warm hearts, a humble spirit, and a willingness to listen and to learn from others who do not share our views. Let it not be said that the Federation is a self-constituted know-it-all group in New York or a one-man organization without any relation to the rest of the church or any sense of responsibility. Happily, one year ago we made changes in our setup to widen out on democratic principles the basis of authority and responsibility, and since then we have consistently endeavored to enlarge the circle of this great social fellowship.

As we of the Federation face 1948 and the ensuing years, an open road of opportunity for education and training stretches out before us. Our problem is primarily the creation of an awareness that there is a social problem and that it should be of critical concern to all who profess the name of Christ. Of the majority of His followers, it can be said that they "have not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost." They are dead to the need of social reform. It is amazing that, week after week, thousands of clergymen are preaching the half-gospel of individual salvation without calling upon men to repent of their social iniquities and to "sin no more" in the collective sense of the word. Many Christians substituted the general spirit of philanthropy and charity for the practical effort to put an end to the conditions that bring about "man's inhumanity to man." They do not see that they must come to understand the deep, underlying causes of human misery and injustice and to apply a remedy that shall transform the very foundations of society.

In stressing the superior importance of social vision and action as compared with the drive for church unity, Dr. Leslie D. Weatherhead in his arresting article, "The Protestant Churches and the New World," in the current number of *Religion in Life* says:

Unity in social action . . . would rouse the outsider to the fact that religion is coterminous with all life and relevant to every phase of life and every person's life—not the "interest" (in the same category as golf) of a few complacent, smug, and self-satisfied pietists who think their brand of Christianity is the only true one and regard God as the special Patron of their denominational chapel. Moreover, unity in social action would bring those who fought together in a crusade nearer to one another than they could be brought by many conferences on church unity.

I know that the church, as such, has not the mental equipment to barge into every realm of social activity with ability or authority to solve technical problems. But there is no area of life in which she ought not to act morally; fearlessly denouncing evil, even though it flourishes in high places amongst socially "important" people. Jesus said that his Church would prevail against the gates of hell. Most churches are not in sight of the gates of hell. They concern themselves only with running their own show. There are nice little tea meetings and pleasant occasions of fellowship, but they make no impact whatever on the pagan area around. One gets the same sense of futility as one would have in seeing a power station equipped with dynamos sufficient to provide light and heat for a city, content to cater only for the building in which the dynamos were housed.

I believe that there is not one social evil cursing our life today which could not be swept away in this generation, if all those who loved Christ and believed in his way of life, were united in action against it. Such united action would not only be a witness that the outsider could not miss. It might make the only desirable kind of "union of the churches" a *fait accompli*. At any rate, we should understand one another better, and the criticism hurled at us by our enemies, and begin to answer the prayer of our Lord on the night before his death.

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Statement by Federation's New President

BISHOP ROBERT N. BROOKS



BISHOP ROBERT N. BROOKS

The human family has come upon one of those terrifying solstices which leads me to feel that we are living under the sign of the collapse of world order. The curtain fell on the old order August fifth, nineteen hundred and forty-five. On that date, the old order, weak and emaciated, shuffled off the stage with few so poor as to do it honor—unwept, unhonored and unsung. In the intervening months nations and peoples have been trying, none too successfully, to write the first feeble paragraphs in the preface to the new age. We have passed the period of decline and fall; we are now into the period between two eras—the one dead and the other just beginning to be born. And, The Methodist Federation for Social Action is the spiritual midwife sitting up night and day so as to help the new order to be born. So what we face is not the light of a setting sun, it is the dawn of a new day.

The newness of the order which we must build is not necessarily a guarantee that it will be better than the old. I have heard many suggestions which indicate that there are multitudes of people who are yet willing to give "sand" another chance in the foundation. In fact they vigorously insist that no firmer substance shall have a chance.

We, of The Methodist Federation for Social Action are sincerely, and we hope wisely, trying to lead people into the glorious experience and high privilege of building a Christian world of freedom and fellowship *for all*. And, we believe that, if it is to be *for all* it must be done *by all*. As once men built the great cathedrals—each rejoicing to lend his special skill to the creation of the beauty and worship which could be brought into being only by the coordination of a thousand hands through hundreds of years, so must it be (many would use a weaker word) with humanity, adventuring together down the ages in the discovery of new truth, the mastery of new skills, the creation of new beauties—together like cathedral builders, each set free to offer his special gift to the glory of God and the enrichment of his fellow man.

The emphasis is, currently, upon *action*. It is our fond hope to make the blueprints so clear that each one can see what he *can do* to make effective the present crusade for the complete emancipation of the human spirit.

In the promotion of these worthy ends we may not escape villification, even violence, at the hands of devout and often conscientious people. But we believe that it is the age-old discussion between tradition and adventure, and that as always before, adventure will win and that tradition will climb upon the bandwagon and ride away with adventure to the achievement of the new and challenging tasks now at hand.

We may, occasionally, examine our Church to see whether there are danger zones in our organizational structure or in our polity and program. We may even go so far as to examine our government to see if there are danger zones in our social order. Any such forays will be prompted by love, never by hate.

Democracy is the most nearly ideal political system which the mind of man has yet devised. If we would make it operative in our American life there would be no competing loyalties to any other system. We spend much more energy in fighting other systems than we do in making democracy operative. It is also probably true, that the main attraction in other systems is often the borrowed idealistic portion of our own democratic theory which we have fought so bitterly and so effectively that many people fear to proclaim those lofty ideals lest they be called by other names than democrats.

So let me importunately urge the whole Methodist family to pray fervently for this unofficial organization as we set out to give the best we have in consecration and in leadership to the end that we may quicken or create a healthy social conscience, both in the church and in the nation, which will find expression in social action.

Statement of Support

As members of the Social Action Retreat for Genesee Conference we are reminded that the Methodist Federation for Social Action is celebrating its fortieth anniversary this year. During its long history it has been in the vanguard of those who would interpret the issues of any given moment in the light of the Gospel ethic. We salute it and commend it for its fearless leadership!

In this year of 1948 we reaffirm our faith in the purposes and methods of this organization. We would further proclaim our faith in the present leadership of the Federation and commend it for its scholarly interpretation of the contemporary, social, political and religious scene. We reject as completely unfounded the recent charges of subversive activity leveled against these leaders.

We are grateful for the help and stimulation that we receive from the SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN and thank the editor for his clear and penetrating insight into contemporary issues.

We reaffirm our complete faith in the ethic of Jesus as the solution of our problems both individual and social. We declare that we will not be intimidated by false accusations against the application of this ethic but will seek to relate Christian principles to all of life.

We believe that as members of the Genesee Conference Social Action Group we can render vital service to our fellowmen as we seek to implement the principles of the Federation for Social Action. To this end we pledge ourselves this day.

Millions long for immortality who do not know what to do with themselves on a rainy Sunday afternoon.

—Dan Bennett

of mice and men

The recent successful national meeting of the Federation at Kansas City achieved more publicity than any other similar occasion in Federation history. This was because of the presence at the meeting of Mr. Frederick Woltman, the indefatigable Red-hunter of the Scripps-Howard papers. In a series of front-page articles for the New York World-Telegram, Mr. Woltman screamed his head off about this "powerful but unofficial adjunct" of the Methodist church, which was insidiously pushing the whole denomination towards the abyss of Bolshevism. The "spark-plug" of these "unprincipled leftists", he said, was the Federation's Executive Secretary, "former leader in the Young Communist League". The United Press picked up this juicy tidbit of misinformation and plastered it on the front pages of most of America's newspapers. In the New York Times and other papers (Kansas City Star, for instance) the "former leader" became "former chairman". The charge was confidently asserted without qualification.

If Mr. Woltman had only stayed in New York last week instead of traipsing off to Kansas City to smear the Methodist "party-liners" he might have noticed an interesting item in the Hearst press. It seems that seven Hearst papers had printed a little story in the course of which Dean Bernard C. Gavit and Prof. W. Howard Mann of the Indiana University Law School were called "Communists". The two law experts sued. They got an out-of-court settlement of \$25,000 and the seven papers publicly recanted the libel. And a few weeks ago the New York Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that calling anyone a Communist or Communist sympathizer without proof was libel.

So brother Woltman, Scripps-Howard, the New York Times, and the United Press are in for a bad time. The Federation's Executive Secretary, of course, is not and never was a Communist, a Young Communist Leaguer, or any such. He was chairman of the National Student Young Men's Christian Association.

In addition to the libelous articles, the World-Telegram editorialized twice on the Federation, and how the "great Methodist Church" with its 11,000,000 members, should deprive the Federation of the name "Methodist", disavow it, and refuse to accept any of its social action recommendations to General Conference. The paper men phoned a number of Methodist ministers in the New York area to find out how outraged they were by what had been done in Kansas City. Some of these poor souls, both flattered and frightened by being personally telephoned by a great metropolitan newspaper, scrambled pitifully to disown and deprecate the Federation. Others announced that they were not outraged at all. Still others were misquoted by the paper.

What we have in all this, of course, is (a) an attempt to split the Federation off from its leadership; and (b) an attempt to kill the Federation as an organization by getting the General Conference to deny it the use of the name "Methodist" and space in the Methodist Building in New York. It is a part of the drive against everything and everybody that stands in the way of the victory of American reaction, both at home and abroad.

The first attempt will result in the loss of certain members who cannot stand pressure of this sort, the "summer soldiers and sunshine patriots" of whom Tom Paine wrote. But their defection will be more than made up by the adherence of new people who will be attracted to an organization which stands and fights. This, in the long run, will be great gain.

As for the second attempt, the General Conference in Boston in April will determine to what, if any, extent it is successful. Undoubtedly the Federation will be strongly opposed. But it will also be strongly defended, and this is as good a time as any to thank God for our good members and friends among the episcopacy. As for the use of the

word "Methodist", this writer is under the impression that a high court decision about the time of the uniting of the three branches of Methodism held that the new "Methodist" Church could not deprive any other group of the use of the word.

The Federation, of course, is in no sense "Communist" nor does it follow any "party line", Communist, Republican, or even Methodist. There was a Methodist Federation For Social Service before there was either a Communist revolution in Russia or a party line; in those early days, around 1908, "socialist" and "anarchist" were the smear words. We survived them and, would you believe it, nobody ever accuses us any more of being pro-socialist or pro-anarchist!

We are Christians who seek a new and more Christian ordering of society. We seek it and work for it and pray for it. We believe that Christianity is an individual revolution in the human heart no less than it is a profound social revolution at the heart of society. We are trying, with others in other denominations, to build a Christian Left movement which will guide mankind towards the Kingdom of God.

FEDERAL COUNCIL DISSOLVES DULLES COMMISSION

The Federal Council's Commission on the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace, which had been chaired by John Foster Dulles, Republican advisor on foreign affairs, for most of its existence, was dissolved on Jan. 1. It will be replaced by an enlarged Commission on International Justice and Good Will.

The present change was made effective January 1, when a call was issued by Walter W. Van Kirk, secretary of the department for a special meeting which was held during the week of January 8 in Philadelphia. It was attended by about 100 Protestant leaders.

Mr. Van Kirk termed the dissolution of the commission headed by Dulles as "a natural and normal development".

Social Questions

BULLETIN

Issued monthly, except July, August and September

REV. ALSON J. SMITH, Editor

The METHODIST FEDERATION
for SOCIAL ACTION
(Unofficial)

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Executive Secretary's Report



J. RICHARD McMICHAEL

I. THE STORY OF CHRISTMAS

This is the Christmas season. Many of us traveled Christmas Day to get here and formulate program for the Methodist Federation for Social Action. Why did we do this? Why is there a Methodist Federation for Social Action?

One could answer in several ways. One is to say that the Christmas story is not out of date—that the goals and imperatives of that story speak with burning relevance to the needs of our day and world.

What then is the Christmas story, and what does it have to do with our presence here and with the existence of the fellowship we have come to serve?

The Christmas story is the story of birth: birth of a child—and of an era. Our calendar makes the Christmas birth the dividing line of history.

The Christmas story is the story of a Jewish mother of the poorer class and of her song of expectation as to the social meaning and result of the impending birth of her first son. This Song is of the heart and spirit of the Gospel Christmas story:

"And Mary said, my soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit has rejoiced in God my saviour. For He hath looked upon the low estate of his bondmaid: for behold, from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed. . . He hath scattered the proud in the imagination of their heart. He hath put down princes from their thrones (the mighty from their seats), and hath exalted them of low degree. The hungry He hath filled with good things; and the rich He hath sent empty away."

How clear and ringing is the cry of this Song for a new day and world for the poor, the lowly, the common people! How deep the yearning in this first Christmas Song for radical, fundamental, far-reaching transformations: political, social, economic. With the realization of the aspiration of this Song, the princes would be cast from their thrones, the mighty from their seats; the lowly, the common people, would be exalted—ushered into power. And the economic change would be no less radical, an overturning of the classes—an abolition of the very structure of class distinction and privilege. No comfort here for believers in the *status quo*, for the rich and oppressors. But good tidings for the

poor and oppressed—for those now hungry who following the promised revolutionary change would be "filled with good things"—Whatever be the elements of paganism which have been added by history to our Christmas festival, and whatever be the effect of the tinsel and frills added by our commercial civilization, the Christmas message, in its true and original meaning, is a manifesto on behalf of the poor—an impassioned, prophetic cry—not for modification of the old order, but for its revolutionary abolition and replacement by a new—not for improvement alone, but for conversion, regeneration, new life, and *new birth*. If the Song of Mary speaks truly about the meaning of the coming of Jesus, then Jesus spoke truly of Himself when He said, in the words of Isaiah, that He had come "to preach good tidings to the poor, to proclaim release to the captives, to set at liberty them that are bruised," and to proclaim a new era, a new day, a new year, "the acceptable year of the Lord." And if Mary were right in her expectation as to the significance of Jesus and His coming, then Jesus was right when He said that He came not to destroy, but to fulfill the Law and the Prophets. For the Law and the Prophets had the same goal as the Christmas Song of Mary—to serve the oppressed and the poor. Like the Hebrew Law and Prophets, the Christmas story makes no pretence of neutrality, but openly and clearly sides with the poor. But it does this not for the purpose of conflict, but of that justice through which alone conflict between classes will be ended, and the very contrast between classes and masses abolished.

No, the vista of Christmas is not of war, but of "peace on earth and goodwill among men." It is for this that the shepherds of Judea, and the poor of all ages, listened. It is this which the angels of Heaven promised. There have been those among the rich and mighty who have found a stake in war. But the stake of the poor is in peace. The story of Christmas is a story of and for the poor. It voices their call for justice. It also voices their cry for peace.

And as the Christmas story calls for justice and peace, so it also and naturally calls for goodwill and brotherhood. It is, therefore, a story not of segregation or separation, but of the meeting and mingling of peoples. It tells not of the defending, but of the crossing of racial and national boundaries. It speaks of a carpenter and his family from Galilee and of shepherds from Judea, but also of wise men who came from the distant East.

Those of our day—whether with "Christian" or other title—who would mobilize us and our resources for a "Holy" struggle against all that is East on behalf of all that is West—can find no comfort or support in the Christmas story, especially if they attribute that story, not only to man, but to God. And this, of course, the Gospel writers did. For the Christmas story records that the Christ child was born on the soil of Asia and from the womb of a non-Western mother. And the foreigners whom God let in on the spectacle in the manger were men from the distant East.

But this is not to say that the Christmas story has no bearing on Western civilization or makes no reference to it. Western civilization is in the Christmas story with a vengeance. The very setting of the Christmas story is one of Western or Roman imperialism and chauvinism. It is a Western emperor, Augustus, who issued the heartless decree that all the world be enrolled and taxed. It is this decree that brought the hard-working carpenter, Joseph, and his heavily-pregnant wife on the trek from Galilee to Bethlehem. It is the lackey of Western "civilization"—the collaborator with Western, Roman imperialism, Herod, who plots the murder of Jesus and decrees the murder of the Jewish boy infants. But the Christmas story not only depicts the cruelty of Western oppression and chauvinism and of its imperialistic "civilization", it is also, and above all, the story of the aspirations and demands of its victims—men and women and children (as it happens) of the East. But in

contrast (from this side) to some of our compatriots and fellow churchmen, the men and women who gave us the Christmas story, have no interest in a geographical struggle and do not speak for the East against the West. They do speak for the poor against the rich, for the oppressed against the oppressor. And they voice the cry of the poor of all ages and areas for brotherhood and goodwill—and for justice, which can guarantee peace. The authors of the Christmas story do not ask that there be a new geographical center for imperialism, but an end to all imperialism *per se*.

It was of the genius of the Western empire or civilization, of which we read in the Christmas story, to teach men to seek greatness by wielding power or domination over their fellows. When certain followers of Jesus were contending among themselves as to how to attain greatness, "Jesus called them unto Him, and said, Ye know that the rulers of the gentiles (Romans, Westerners) lord it over them, and their great ones exercise authority over them." But quite different was the message of Jesus and quite different also the message of Christmas. It is the message of the wise men's gifts, the message of sacrificial service—of service across racial and national barriers—a service which could yield no material profit—service to One from whom no material reward could be expected; One at the age of helpless infancy, a son of the colonial poor, born not in a palace, but a stable, with those for whom there were "no room in the inn;" born, that is, without social or economic privilege and without a suggestion of political power.

Yes, the Christmas story is above all about Him—this Babe in the Bethlehem stable, Jesus. Jesus, as we have already seen, was true to the spirit of Christmas. He came, by his own declaration, to fulfill the Law and the Prophets, and thus to bring good news to the poor. He taught a new motive for society and men—service or social usefulness, as opposed to individualistic profit or lordship. Like the prophets before Him, He championed the cause of the oppressed. So "the common people heard Him gladly," whereas the men of political, economic and ecclesiastical privilege ganged up against Him. He challenged class distinctions and racial and national barriers. He would have no truck with segregation. And the enemies of equality and brotherhood were disturbed. Like the Song of Mary and the Christmas story, Jesus stood for basic, revolutionary personal and social change, and not for the status quo. He sought a new kind of man for a new kind of world. He brought, as He put it, new wine for new wineskins, new cloth for new garments, a new outlook for a new day, and a new way of life. The Great Apostle was true to the spirit of Jesus and of the Christmas story when he wrote in his epistle to the Romans, "Be not conformed to this world; but be ye transformed by the *renewing* of your mind."

II.

(An analysis of the social scene and current tensions in the light of the Christmas story)

What a difference it would make if all of us who worship in Christian churches would in this Christmas season take seriously the Christmas story and apply its spirit and demands to the foreign and domestic policies of the nation for which we as citizens are responsible! Suppose that those who wrote the Christmas story and its Song of Mary were the writers of American foreign policy! Just suppose that the makers of our policy were committed not to maintain, but radically to change the status quo—and were dedicated not to the rich and privileged (the mighty on their seats, the princes on their thrones), but to the poor and oppressed. Suppose, for example, our foreign policy sought to help the peasants rather than their exploiters (and the prince on his throne) in Greece—and the peasants rather than their wealthy and grasping exploiters in China. How different the situation would be in both lands! For in both China and Greece the wealthy and privileged who have traditionally and cruelly oppressed the common people and who now violently defend the untenable status quo against needed and necessary

change, are all on the side which we and our foreign policy back and whose reactionary civil war we and our policy make possible. History will record that these tragic post-war civil wars in China and Greece are in decisive measure due to American foreign policy which failed to cope with the necessity in feudal lands for radical, revolutionary change—and failed to gear itself to the needs and aspirations of the poor and oppressed—gearing itself instead to the rulers of corrupt regimes, the wielders of empire, the princes on their thrones, and the privileged wealthy few. Nor is Moscow responsible for the acute social problem for which peasants in Greek and Chinese mountains offer radical solution and for which the reactionary governments involved offer no solution. Analysis of the social history of Greece and China and of the internal forces at work in each country makes clear that the fundamental struggle involved would go on, either with or without a Moscow. Nor are the Communists in either land the only ones by far who oppose the reactionary governments or espouse the need for radical change. Our own State Department found it necessary to say to Congress last spring that the great majority of opponents of the Greek government and of peasant partisans fighting in Greek mountains were non-Communists. And I am confident that Marshall Feng, himself an old Kuomintang leader, will certainly say the same of China, where the non-Communist liberals and Democratic League members, whom our American Ambassador Stuart and Secretary Marshall both praised, are now suppressed and outlawed—executed, imprisoned, or hounded by the Gestapo-like police of that police state regime. Even conservative Kuomintang labor leaders like Chu Hsueh-Fan, allied to the most conservative AFL leaders here, have been forced to flee from Kuomintang, indiscriminating anti-labor terror and to live in exile from their own government. Students throughout China seeking this past year for an end to the tragic civil war were violently and cruelly suppressed. And in Formosa, where Communists have absolutely no foothold, the occupying Kuomintang troops ruthlessly slaughtered unarmed, peaceful, non-Communist civilians without provocation and without discrimination—in what is probably the most ghastly and inexcusable blood bath of all post-war history. Is there any wonder then that missionary friends and Federation members living under Kuomintang rule in West China have written in this year's Christmas message:

"It is hard to realize that war tears at the people of so many farflung communities across this country, that many are suffering and dying, that men are being forced into the army of the National Government, taken from women folk, left desolate to face conditions of oppression, disease and death. . . There is no hesitation among merchants in continually boosting prices, but there is an awful lethargy when it comes to giving larger wages. So, it is the same old story, the rich get richer and the poor get poorer. . . The real root of the trouble is the civil war. Everyone says: 'Nothing can be done until the end of the civil war.' I believe that when the present government falls there will be a wave of joy throughout the country. That that has not yet happened, everybody knows is because of U. S. aid to Chiang. Little wonder that America, which was regarded as a great friend two and a half years ago is now feared and hated. A Chinese friend of ours wrote from Tsingtao a month ago: 'This is a lovely place for holidays. But not China, especially in this district. We see mostly American marines and their families. My blood boils. But it is not their fault that they are here and being hated. It is the United States' policy and that of those in Nanking.'"

And how have the common people fared under that other police state military regime to which we give military support for the purposes of tragic civil war? Well, this Greek regime which we not only support, but largely control and run (according even to Stewart Alsop who supports "cold war" and the Truman Doctrine) has passed the most out-

standingly fascistic labor law in our post-war era—a law which provides the death penalty for workers who go on strike or refuse to work at the conditions they consider unjust—and however justified the workers may be. Not even Hitler, or the most rabid hater of workers, did or could go further than this. It might be well to remember the words of that great earlier American, William Cullen Bryant, who wrote of the inalienable right of an American worker to collaborate with other workers in refusing to sell his body or its labor for a price, or at conditions, which he considers unworthy. In writing of a particular case in which workers had been punished for collectively refusing to work, William Cullen Bryant wrote: "They were condemned because they were determined not to work for the wages offered them! Can anything be imagined more abhorrent to every sentiment of generosity or justice than the law which arms the rich with the legal right to fix, by assize, the wages of the poor? If this is not slavery, we have forgotten its definition. Strike the right of associating for the sale of labor from the privileges of a free man, and you may as well at once bind him to a masthead or ascribe him to the soil."

Yes, the police regimes of Greece and China have suppressed the democratic liberties which we elsewhere espouse, and are employing maximum violence and terrorism to freeze the status quo of special privilege and to prevent the basic social change which the people need and must have. The long unneeded prince in Greece is still on his throne. And in China corrupt and grasping bankers and landlords look not to their own people, but to the U. S. A. and our continued and growing intervention for the maintenance of their unjust privileges. More than all other outside foreign factors put together, it is the foreign policy of the United States which feeds and stimulates the costly, tragic civil wars in Greece and China, and which undergirds their hopelessly reactionary, anti-poor, pro status quo, and anti-democratic governments. And this reaction-supporting and war-feeding U. S. foreign policy has been clothed all along in the most democratic and humanitarian garb. Some, but by no means all, American religious leaders have made their contribution to this unfortunate, yes terrible, deception. But most people have refused to be fooled by these pretences of humanitarianism and democracy. Most of us who have looked at American foreign policy in such idealized and self-satisfying light, are ourselves Americans. Citizens of other lands, certainly including both Greece and China, have not been so prone to idealize our government's policies.

Last Spring, the President launched the so-called "Truman Doctrine" with emotional appeal for aid to Greece and Turkey. He appealed to the humanitarian instincts of the American people and indicated that the program proposed was an unselfish crusade for freedom and democracy against totalitarianism. As for Turkey, not even Mr. Truman could claim that its totalitarian police state in any way resembles democracy or even made pretence of Bill of Rights freedom. Nor could he claim that Turkey was in humanitarian need of relief. Turkey had not been invaded or devastated in the war, and indeed had fattened herself from both sides in the conflict. There were and are many war devastated nations in need of relief and reconstruction aid; but Turkey was and is not among them. No, the program for Turkey was admittedly a completely military one. And the unqualifiedly military aid to Turkey's rulers can hardly be calculated to make the state they rule more democratic or less totalitarian. But the President did call the Greek government democratic (a rather generous and uncritical description). But under the Truman program in Greece the government which our president called democratic has made workers subject to the death penalty who refuse to work under unjust conditions. Newspapers allowed before the Truman doctrine have now been outlawed. Police state terror has extended, and democratic rights have been even further extinguished. And what of the professedly "humanitarian" aspect of our Greek intervention? It seemed obvious all along that the poor who most desperately needed relief aid in Greece would not be assured of it in a purely American (as opposed to a United

Nations) program unless they agreed not to oppose the government which served and continued to serve their wealthy and reactionary oppressors, while refusing to meet their needs—and unless indeed these poor supported or fought for that government in a disastrous civil war supported by the wealthy ruling class for the maintenance of unjust privilege. But whatever these fears of ours were in the beginning of the Truman program in Greece, Mr. Truman himself in his first semi-annual report to Congress made it quite clear that the program has been a military, rather than a humanitarian one—and that funds intended for humanitarian purposes had been diverted to military ends. And Mr. Truman frankly admitted also that economic and other matters have grown considerably worse under our program of intervention on behalf of one side in the civil war. Testimony mounts practically every day that our program has been increasing, not ending, Communism and Communists in Greece. The Greek government has become more and more dependent on the United States and less and less dependent on its own people, and thus on response to their fundamental needs and just demands. The results? The real plight of the people has grown worse. The government has become more, not less, totalitarian—less, not more, democratic—less progressive and more reactionary—less than ever able to effect the basic changes demanded by the people and by history. Whatever be the motives of our foreign policy in these distant lands, the anti-democratic results are clear for all to see. And millions across the earth do see them. And this is the more astounding when we realize that we who have citizenship responsibility in this disastrous U. S. foreign policy profess to be disciples of the One whose birthday we celebrate in this very season and Whose expectant mother sang of the ending of special privilege, the casting of princes from their thrones, and basic social change on behalf of the poor! Perhaps we can find partial explanation in the fact that so much more has been said this Christmas season about the nice, but safe enough, myth of Santa Claus, than about the prophetic, revolutionary ethic of the Song of Mary or of Jesus who was born that first Christmas.

What has been said of our policy in Greece, Turkey, and China, is reflected also in our policy with reference to the colonial peoples. Here too there is clear need for speedy, drastic, far-reaching transformation on behalf of the poor, the oppressed, the colonial peoples. In case after case in the United Nations our government has sided with the colonial status quo powers and against the radical, but just and democratic aspirations and demands of the colonial peoples. Yet our own nation was born by a revolution against colonialism and by a Declaration of Independence that declared that all peoples are created by God to be free from such colonial rule. And two days ago we celebrated the Christmas story—a story written by and for the victims of imperialism! How different indeed our foreign policy would be if we Christians who are largely responsible for it took seriously and vigorously applied the social message and meaning of Christmas.

There is further evidence that our foreign policy seeks to preserve or restore an old and outmoded order rather than end it on behalf of the radically new society and era which is needed, and which is demanded in the Christmas story. In the basic documents of the so-called "Marshall Plan" we see this disturbing failure to recognize the need for radical change and for avoiding this time any disastrous attempt to return to normalcy.

As to Mr. Marshall's initial Harvard speech I stated in my report of last September to the Executive Committee:

"In that speech Mr. Marshall refers to the 'dislocation of the . . . fabric of European Economy.' He referred to conditions in the economic field in Europe as 'abnormal' and stated that 'nationalization' had contributed to the disappearance of 'long-standing commercial ties, private institutions, banks, insurance companies and shipping companies.' He expressed our government's desire, 'to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world.' How can we expect this to sound to people who are convinced by their reading of history and by their direct experience that the so-called 'normal' economic system and

life is not worthy of being returned to and was in no sense healthy but fatally sick, and that, therefore, the job is not to 'return,' at all, but rather to go forward to a more rational, cooperative and socially justified economic order?"

This fear has been strengthened by later basic documents undergirding the "Marshall Plan" as now envisaged and to be applied. Of special importance is the report of the committee headed by Secretary of Commerce Harriman. To quote from that report: "Therefore the countries of western Europe must be *restored* to a position where they may retain full faith in the validity of their *traditional* approaches to world affairs." We can note in this statement a tragic failure to understand the ethical and social inadequacy of the "traditional approaches to world affairs"—a disturbing reminder of the pressure in America after World War I in favor of "return to normalcy." The Harriman Committee report envisages a Plan aimed at restoring also the old profit incentives and drives in economic life in western Europe as indicated by the committee's statement: "Achievement of monetary stability would allow a gradual *restoration* of *normal* incentives and a gradual *return* to a system where individuals and enterprises, both public and private, can operate in markets." Nor did the committee very effectively disguise its opposition to the economic controls and planning, to which most of the peoples of western Europe are in fact committed. To quote the committee again: "But the reduction of tariffs is of little moment if exchange controls and other controls have to be maintained indefinitely. Whatever one's attitude toward planning and free enterprise may be, there is all but universal agreement that true economic recovery depends on releasing the energies of individuals and cutting down on time-consuming regulation of production and distribution." One would question quite seriously whether the peoples of western Europe, after the bitter lesson of their experience *without* regulation of production and distribution would want to return again to the unregulated system of pre-war days. Evidence that the committee was thinking in old terms, inadequate for the needs of the peoples of Europe and the world today, is also seen in the emphasis: "*voluntary* measures should be relied upon wherever possible." The committee seems to have misread the lesson of history following World War I as seen by their evident satisfaction with what happened in the economic field following that first World War: "Yet, by 1924, Europe, which seemed totally disorganized in 1918 was well on its way to recovery." But certainly the succeeding depression and the victory of Hitler in Germany ought to make clear the complete ethical and social unsoundness of that "recovery" period and of the basic economic incentives and system which were "recovered". With reference to western Germany the Harriman Committee calls for "the *revival* of an economy now obviously on dead center." It is indeed questionable whether the peoples of Europe who suffered so severely from the old German economy would agree that the need is for its revival, rather than for its transformation and replacement.

President Truman's message to Congress on the Marshall Plan further underscores our fears that the plan's architects are committed not to the building of the needed new social and economic order, but to the restoration of the old. President Truman said that: "The next few years can determine whether the free countries of Europe will be able to *preserve* their heritage of freedom." President Truman also expressed alarm that if things did not work out as planned: "It might well compel us to modify our own economic system and to forgo, for the sake of our own security, the enjoyment of many of our freedoms and *privileges*." President Truman also emphasized that the Plan's "administration must therefore be fully responsive to *our* foreign policy." He also states (which seems to be a clear warning to the participating nations to hew the right line) that "the United States will, of course, retain the right to determine whether aid to any country is to be continued if our previous assistance has not been used effectively." One other basic report made to Congress to undergird the Marshall Plan is the report of the

Herter Committee which speaks with optimism of "progress . . . toward *rebuilding* the economic system." Further evidence that there are powerful architects of the Marshall Plan who envisage it as a way to rebuild the old economic system which wrought such tremendous havoc in the inter-war period is seen in the statement recently appearing in "The American Banker": "Harriman committee economists believe the swing to the Right in Western Europe can be clinched by Marshall Plan—long before the actual machines and commodities are delivered." Evidently the people in western Europe, in Great Britain, and other lands have been evidencing too much radicalism, too much dissatisfaction with the pre-war status quo. As the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of Churches put it in its statement on Soviet-American relations made a year ago, "The United States is, and for about 50 years has been predominantly a status quo power." When one reflects on post-war American foreign policy in its relation to the old and dying social and economic order in Greece, China, the colonial world, yes and in western Europe, one is reminded of a recent jingle which seems all too descriptive of our government's foreign policy: "Come weal or woe, our status is quo." We who are committed to the Gospel ethic and who also are citizens with special responsibility to the American government have a basic Christian as well as democratic job to do in that connection. To accept that job will be in keeping with the spirit of Jesus and with the spirit of the Christmas story.

The old order which our foreign policy evidently seeks to restore, let us not forget, is the same order which produced in one generation calamitous depression (after an immoral "Boom"), predatory fascism, and two World Wars. However democratic or generous the phrases with which our foreign policy is backed, would it not be wise for us to think twice before giving it our support if it aims (as these, its architects seem to tell us) at preventing radical change and *restoring* the unjust and now untenable prewar status quo? In fact, if we are truly loyal to the Christmas message, we'll do more than think twice about such a policy. We'll repudiate it and demand a *new* policy "not conformed to this world" of the prewar status quo, but "transformed" in search of the new.

There are other ways in which our foreign policy would be basically altered if it were imbued with the spirit of our Christmas story. Such a policy would open rather than close its door to whatever wisdom can come from the East and to the gifts and contributions which the wise men of the East (even those called Communists) can bring to the mosaic of world society and culture. If our foreign policy were in harmony with the Christmas spirit, it would seek the mingling, not the separation of peoples and cultures. (As it did last summer when our State Department prevented representative American Christian and other youth from participating in the cultural World Youth Festival in Prague. We can only agree with the strong condemnation of this anti-democratic attitude and action, sent to our State Department by the National Inter-Collegiate Christian Council, the most inclusive American Christian student group.) If our foreign policy were in harmony with the Christmas demand for the mingling of peoples and cultures, it would serve and build *inclusive* unity and cooperation, and nothing short of that. It would, therefore, build and serve the United Nations as the only-existing agency for such inclusive cooperation. It would use the United Nations to the full, not ignore it, and not by-pass it. And it would use the United Nations to serve the purpose for which it was designed—namely, to promote *inclusive* unity and to serve *all* the nations—not to gang up with or in the leadership of one bloc against another bloc. Such a policy, motivated to render service across and against existing barriers of separation, would turn its back on "cold war" and on divisive bloc-building "recovery" programs planned as instruments in "cold war". It, like the song of Mary, would wish *all* the hungry to be filled with good things and would repudiate the use of relief or economic advantage as a political weapon. So it would naturally support, rather than fear, a truly international administration of relief and rehabilitation in and under the

United Nations, which is not designed easily to serve "political" relief or to build up one bloc against another. Actually we had such an inclusive United Nations relief and rehabilitation agency in UNRRA. And just one year ago, in another Christmas season, our government, the government for which we as citizens are responsible, killed the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration against the wishes of practically all the other members of the United Nations, and against the vigorous protest of this Federation, Fiorello LaGuardia, Bishop G. B. Oxnham and other civic organizations and individuals. Thus our government embarked on a different and unilateral relief program which neglects the United Nations and has been increasingly described as playing politics with hunger and as using food and other relief as political weapons—to serve "cold war", not peace and good will—and to serve and build up our bloc rather than to end the very existence of "bloes." This new food and relief policy which came in full and tragic force when we abolished UNRRA, meant in effect that our government and it alone now decides which of the war-devastated peoples receive relief aid, and under what conditions. Under United Nations (rather than unilateral) administration this was decided not by politics or geography, but by actual need as determined not by one biased and cold-war-waging government, but by a representative and international agency, led it is true by the United States but not completely dominated by our country. Under this new program relief for certain selected needy nations was appropriated by Congress; but it was denied all nations of Eastern Europe, including Poland which probably suffered more than any other nation from war devastation and in which both the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization and the American Friends Service Committee reported at the time our relief was being denied, actual hunger and starvation. One remembers also the sudden withdrawal of reconstruction credits needed by, and promised to, Czechoslovakia. They were withdrawn under the direction of Mr. Byrnes frankly because one Czech official exercised that free speech which the Czechs hold dear and which the champions of our foreign policy espouse, to voice fears concerning U. S. economic policy. Our government's action may have curbed this Brother's use of free speech, but hardly his fears as to U. S. economic policy. One remembers also that the Soviet Union faced terrible suffering and devastation from the war and has been in great need of economic aid and reconstruction. But our government has both firmly opposed the Soviet Union's claims for partial reparation and refused to consider or offer the economic aid and credit that nation has needed. The original Soviet request for a loan (which was to be paid back over a period of years in full) was "lost" for some six months on the shelves of our efficient State Department. In this same post-war period we have witnessed the "Truman Doctrine" launched by our President on a unilateral basis outside of the United Nations, launched without any consultation with the United Nations or its officials, and launched in terms of a program for Greece completely contradictory to the genuine program of peaceful reconstruction and relief advocated by the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization at the very time President Truman made his fiery speech to Congress. This "Truman Doctrine" has been followed by the "Marshall Plan" which has been widely interpreted by powerful spokesmen as a weapon in "cold war", and which was also launched on a unilateral basis, outside of the United Nations and its agencies.

One cannot emphasize too strongly that the Christmas story demand for cooperation and unity between the peoples is in full harmony with the needs of Europe's peoples. Any plan for Europe which aims (as the predominant Congressional supporters of the Marshall Plan indicate) at carrying on a tragic "cold war" and splitting the East and West of Europe, will be harmful to the East of Europe but disastrous to Europe's West. For the agricultural East and industrial West of Europe have been and still are comple-

mentary—not conflicting in basic interests, but needing one another. It will be harder for the West than the East to get along without this unity. For the East needs machines from the West; the West, food from the East. Even the anti-Soviet architects of the Marshall Plan who served on the Harriman Committee, stated in their report that success of the Plan required growing trade and cooperation between East and West of Europe—and that the Plan assumed such growth. But the atmosphere and talk of "cold war" and of building up *our* bloc in western Europe (in which the Plan has been and is being sold to Congress) is hardly calculated to bring East and West together in the cooperative relationship which both so greatly need.

We have said that the Christmas story is above all about Jesus and that to apply its message truly is to seek to be true to Him. It is appropriate, therefore, for us to remember the special opposition and hatred which Jesus had for the self-righteousness, double standard, and hypocrisy which were so characteristic of the Pharisees of His day. One of the most disturbing and damning things about our post-war foreign policy has been its Pharisaic, self-righteous, double standard or hypocritical traits. We see this in the growing tendency to label the Soviet Union as the devil and the United States as incarnate virtue. The Soviet Union has not only made mistakes in its history but has committed sins. The Soviet Union is by no means a Utopia. And the United States has certainly made many and great contributions to the peoples of the world. But both of these great nations are human and sinful; both have potentialities for evil but also for good. Neither has a monopoly of virtue and neither has a monopoly of sin. But this seems to have been the assumption of many who try to sell our foreign policy and to look with such hostile eyes at our Soviet neighbor. It is a viewpoint very much in harmony with the Pharisees whom Jesus castigated, but utterly untrue to the spirit of Christmas and of Jesus around whom Christmas centers. The double standard which the Pharisees practiced in their moral judgments and which Jesus so thoroughly detested is also evident in much of our foreign policy promotion. We see this in the passion which our diplomatic leaders (former Secretary Byrnes, for example) show for democratic procedures and individual civil liberties in the Balkans (exclusive of Greece, the Balkan country we happen to control, with probably the sorriest civil liberties record of them all, and regarding which our silence on civil liberties has been indeed quite striking), and the complete silence of these same men about democratic liberties in Mississippi or South Carolina or Georgia or Washington which are much closer to home.

How terrible we think it is that the Soviet Union, a European power, which has suffered much and many times from German aggression, asks a share in the control of the Ruhr, the historic industrial base for that aggression. But how perfectly normal that we (a non-European power) should have a voice and control—indeed the decisive and dominant one—in that area, and that we should insist on our way of preventing socialization of the Ruhr (which the British otherwise would have effected) and keeping it fertile for cartels.

It is not hard to find examples of the hypocrisy which is one of the great moral weaknesses in our government's foreign policy. One example is the recent presidential message to Congress appealing to our natural and justified sympathy for our war devastated allies to enlist our support for the Marshall Plan—and then including in that plan countries which were profitably neutral in the war and suffered no devastation whatever—Portugal, Turkey, Sweden, Iceland, Switzerland—while excluding from the plan many of the most cruelly devastated countries. The contradiction between our preaching for reconstruction and our actual practice is also seen in the plan's extension to include Greece and China. Under present conditions this can only mean not genuine reconstruction, but more and utterly disastrous civil war. But this too is presented with the most praiseworthy, generous, and humanitarian garb.

Nations of western Europe need for effective reconstruc-

tion trade and cooperation with the East. And our method of selling the Marshall Plan has hardly been calculated to promote that. These western nations also require, if their reconstruction efforts are to succeed, internal unity and cooperation of all major political groups—the opposite of civil war. And here again our foreign policy and its architects have often been of little help. In both China and Greece our policy has promoted destruction and death in civil war—not the construction which can only come through an end to such civil war. In other words our partisan policy in these countries has promoted disunity, not unity. And we can hardly say the opposite as to the effects of our foreign policy in Italy and France. Here, as elsewhere, we have demanded and received anti-communism and the breaking up of the inclusive coalition governments under which great progress and construction was going on. What on earth can Mr. Dulles have thought would result from his recent disastrous visit to France—his friendly, pre-announced conference with De Gaulle whom many fear as the coming dictator of France—his snubbing on the contrary of the Communists and his statement to the French press (he, mind you, an American!) that the largest political party in France—the party receiving more French votes than any other single party in free, peaceful, democratic elections—was not a French party! Was he, in this ill-fated visit, seeking to help France achieve the internal coalition and unity which is the major prerequisite in France for any finally effective program for reconstruction and which obviously must include the great Communist-led trade movement? (It is revealing to note that Mr. De Gaulle, with whom Mr. Dulles had such a friendly visit, has since come out for the abolition of labor unions. He is the great white hope of Reaction in France today and the most promising potential leader for any threatened French neo-fascism.) Why then this partisan introduction of Mr. Dulles into the French political scene? It seems to make sense from the standpoint of one who has a committed stake in finance capitalism and who is in deadly fear of the radical social and economic changes which the peoples around the world and in France are demanding. But it is hard to see how we can bless or favor this particular participation of Mr. Dulles in internal French politics, on the basis of our Gospel of the poor, with its Song of Mary and its Christmas story. At any rate such American intervention in internal French politics is calculated to impede, rather than develop, that inclusive unity which will prevent civil war in France and which alone can assure success for needed French reconstruction.

III. DOMESTIC POLICIES

The Christmas story can and will give us much and needed light as we consider not only the foreign, but also the domestic policies and trends of our government.

In other reports made to the Executive Committee and published in substance in the SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN, I have dealt at some length with domestic economic trends—all of them out of harmony with the Christmas message and with its concern for the poor and for equalitarian justice. I speak of such things as this year's corporate profits, far greater (both before and after taxes) than at any time in previous history—the unprincipled rises in prices since the abolition of controls; the reduction in real wages and in the share of national income going to workers; the strong attacks on both the labor and cooperative movements—the threat in all of these developments to mass purchasing power and to the possibility of preventing future and calamitous economic collapse and depression.

Let us make mention today of two other and parallel developments on the domestic scene—the growing and alarming extent to which our government is being taken over by big business and by the military. As examples, reflect on the high finance background of the following men who wield tremendous power in our government today: Undersecretary of State Robert A. Lovett, partner in Brown Brothers, Harriman banking firm; Ambassador to England Lewis Douglas, chairman of Mutual Life Insurance Com-

pany; Assistant Secretary in charge of occupied territories, Charles Saltzman, former vice-president of the New York Stock Exchange (all of the above Marshall appointees); Defense Secretary James V. Forrestal, head of the Wall Street banking firm of Dillon Read; Secretary of Commerce W. A. Harriman, partner in Brown Brothers, Harriman, banking firm; Secretary of Treasury, John Snyder, also a banker from St. Louis; Major General William Draper, Assistant Secretary of War, recently returned from his post with AMG in Germany, and also connected with Dillon Read; chief of the World Bank, John McCloy, a Wall Street lawyer. For impressive and disturbing documentation as to the growth of military control of our government, I cite the lead article in the December issue of Harper's, "The Military Move In" by Hanson W. Baldwin, a graduate of the Annapolis Naval Academy, and military analyst of the New York Times, himself both anti-Communist and anti-Russian. Mr. Baldwin writes that the confidential summarized report on the world situation which comes to President Truman every day and undoubtedly has much influence on his thinking, is prepared under the direction of military men, "so far directed by two admirals and one general." Mr. Baldwin also writes "the President still has Admiral William D. Leahy as his personal Chief of Staff—a post of great power and intimate influence." Mr. Baldwin writes with documentation of the "extent to which the military influence has already affected our post war policies . . . these policies in the Pacific—and the MacArthur unilateral policy in Japan—are definitely the product of military influence. A group in the State Department, fought, unsuccessfully, the mandated islands policy; others have sought to curb MacArthur, but with singular lack of effect." Mr. Baldwin has the interesting thesis that the growing military power in our government has stimulated the increasing tendency to by-pass the United Nations. "Military thought reflects essentially a dependence upon our own national strength, and military thinking undoubtedly influenced the way in which the Truman-Marshall program grew, was presented, and was developed." Mr. Baldwin writes of the growing tendency to think in terms of preparation for total war and adds, "that might well mean the establishment of a 'garrison state' and the destruction of the very qualities and virtues and principles which we originally set about to save." Mr. Baldwin named one powerful military man after the other who has moved recently into policy-making positions in our government, positions which our democratic American tradition would tend to place under clearly civilian control. He writes of the decisive influence of the American military and militarists throughout the Pacific, in Japan, in Korea, in China, throughout South America. And he reminds us of the mounting pressure for peacetime universal military training or conscription coming from the military and militarists, associated with our government and the administration. It would be quite surprising indeed if men with such financial and militaristic roots who have increasingly been taking over our government, would fashion policies aimed at effecting those basic social and economic changes needed and increasingly asked by the lowly people everywhere and so clearly and insistently demanded by the Song of Mary and the Christmas story.

We shall consider in this meeting also the great, current assault on minority rights and democratic liberties here in America in this post-war period—an assault far greater and more menacing than at any time during the war itself. We shall consider ways of helping to preserve our cherished individual civil liberties, and the basic principles of Anglo-Saxon justice. I have dealt in more detailed terms with this basic current social problem in my recent report to the Executive Committee and published in the December Bulletin. We live in an hysterical time, like unto that period in which Thomas Jefferson made his first inaugural address from which I quote: "And let us reflect that having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained but little if we countenance a political intolerance as despotic,

as wicked, as capable of bitter and bloody persecution. . . If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union, or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated, where reason is left free to combat it." Relevant are the words of Jesus: "And ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." It is in keeping with this insistence that we be free to discover the truth that our forefathers have developed here in America the great democratic principle which demands the free and untrammelled play of ideas and the opportunity to consider *all* proposals (however radical and however much we may agree or disagree with them) made for the solution of our basic social problem. As Professor Commager of the Columbia University History Department has shown with such thorough documentation in the Harper's article reprinted in the *Social Questions Bulletin*, it is completely *un-American* to label as subversive or un-American, men and women in our midst who are dissenters and non-conformists. For it is of the very essence of democracy to demand freedom for dissent and non-conformity and freedom to advocate basic change—yes, and participation in such radical advocacy as one, from time to time, sees its need. We agree with Professor Commager that non-conformity is of the very genius of growing, progressive, democratic America, and enforced conformity in ideas is the antithesis of true Americanism. And we add for the benefit of the Thomas Committee, Rankin Committee, or Dies Committee (and of all other red-hunters, including men who smear and defame in newspaper articles) that we are Christians who have read in our New Testament this mandate: "Be *not* conformed to this world, but be transformed by the renewing of your mind." If this precious New Testament doctrine be subversive, then let the Rankins and Thomases, and their ilk, make the most of it!

IV. MFSA PROGRAM

All of us delegates have been given a copy of basic MFSA program and of the special programmatic resolutions adopted by the Executive Committee during the past year. The basic task here at Kansas City is the working task of formulating MFSA program for the year ahead. The program you formulate and adopt will be the guide for the Executive Committee during this coming year. As for existing program, on the basis of your exact knowledge of it, you will make any revisions you see fit.

V. THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE CHURCH

Beyond the task of considering the role and obligation of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, we have set for ourselves in this year's meeting the task of assaying the Church's responsibility. The theme proposed for this year's meeting is: The Christian Church and Present Day Tensions.

With reference to these tensions, how has the Church been fulfilling its responsibility in the crucial year just passed? We in the churches have faced the same conservative pressures that have been bearing down upon other Americans in this post-war period of hysteria and reaction. And there is evidence that in some quarters within the church there has been some move in the direction of these conservative pressures. Let us pray God that the cutting edge of the transforming (not conforming) Gospel ethics will be preserved and strengthened within the Church in the year ahead. When I refer to some evidence of the dulling of this needed cutting edge within the church, I have in mind such things as the important Labor Day statement this year of the Federal Council of Churches. How lacking it is in the cutting edge of other and earlier Federal Council Labor Day statements! How much more of the "milk and water" variety was this year's statement! It is important that we study the foreign policy statements of the Federal Council over the last year, to see if there is not a similar conservative tendency there, a curbing of the prophetic

quality which we have expected from the Federal Council, and an increment in the element of national and Pharisaic self-righteousness. These two important foreign policy documents adopted by the Executive Committee of the Federal Council have been secured in large enough quantity for all delegates at this meeting, and are all on the literature table.

My basic reaction to the question as to how the Church has been fulfilling its responsibility in the area of social tensions, is one of extreme gratification and pride. The Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church has just held its annual meeting in Buck Hill Falls. How splendid is the social vision of the resolutions these leading Methodist women adopted! How clearcut and unequivocal is their call on the Methodist Church to become a completely Christian, brotherly, and unsegregated Church in which Christian fellowship knows no limitation, erects no walls, and contains no continued stigma of superiority and inferiority. And how splendid also were the resolutions on social matters adopted by the National Conference of Methodist Youth in their meeting in California last summer! How gratified we are by the fact that the National Conference of Methodist Youth has written into its constitution a statement specifically providing for cooperation with the Methodist Federation for Social Action and in a special resolution voted: "We commend the program of the Methodist Federation for Social Action and pledge our support to this prophetic organization." If there be those who fear that the organized lay men of our church represent the major stronghold of conservatism, there is certainly cause for delight over action taken by the lay men in the last annual meeting of the Board of Lay Activities and the National Council of Conference Lay Leaders. They "affirmed the support of Methodism for collective bargaining, social security, insurance against accidents and preventable disease, reasonable hours of labor and pay; superiority of service over profit motive, annual wage. Urged Methodists to become familiar with problems of management and labor in order to cast in intelligent ballot and to uphold the pastor in creating understanding of problems, in light of Jesus' teaching." These lay men, who often get labeled as conservative, also "declared personality to be of primary value; called for equal rights and complete justice for those of all races and in all stations of life." We can be proud of the Methodist lay men for these splendid actions! And there is reason for joy also in the many resolutions against universal military training passed by Annual Conferences and by the same stand taken by the lay men, and by the Methodist Education Conference this year at Grand Rapids, in which other splendid social action resolutions were adopted. The Methodist Conference on Christian Education adopted the following forward-looking resolution on racial discrimination: "Whereas more than seventy members of the Negro race have already been employed in public and private educational institutions on the college and university level in schools with a predominantly white student body, we feel that a strong recommendation should be made to our Methodist colleges, universities, and theological schools that teachers be employed on the basis of competency regardless of race." Progress toward brotherhood and a thoroughly Christian church is also being made under the impetus of the historic Federal Council policy against a segregated church. One striking example is the action this November of the Metropolitan Church Federation of St. Louis in asking nearly 300 member Protestant churches in St. Louis and St. Louis County to end racial segregation in religious services, institutions, and activities. One can only be greatly encouraged by careful study of the splendid actions of the great National Methodist Rural Life Conference held in Lincoln, Nebraska last July. To take only one sample let me quote from a report on the conference's Commission on a Christian World View: "We express profound appreciation for the part which the United States had in planting the kernel of Christian philosophy at the heart of the United Nations. But we now consider that our unilateral action is a threat

to the United Nations and to the safety of the world. We point to Indonesia, Greece, Korea and Palestine as present areas of tension, demonstrating that we have been going the wrong way, and we call upon our Government to change its political strategy." From our bishops also we have been receiving grand and laudable leadership with reference to burning social issues. One thinks of the speech of Bishop Brashares at the annual session of the Conference on Christian Education of the Methodist Church in Grand Rapids this November in which Bishop Brashares condemned the social conscience which "has been dulled so that we do not organize as efficiently to feed men as we do to kill them. We do not consider God's will when we make our foreign policy. Having conquered our enemies, we begin to fear Russia. In reality her troops are not on our borders in Mexico, and Canada, but our troops are on her borders in Korea, Japan, China, Germany and Alaska. Can it be that an outraged conscience has made us afraid?" The Bishop went on to deplore the fact that "our conscience has grown so deaf to the voice of God, that our mercies even are disguised as cold war to defend ourselves by charity rather than compassion." And one thinks of the major contribution made toward an appreciative understanding of the new regimes in Eastern Europe by our Methodist bishop in Europe, Bishop Paul Garber, and particularly his encouraging statement made at the recent session of the Council of Bishops. And with reference to this session of the Council of Bishops of the Methodist Church in Atlantic City December 2-5, we can only say an unqualified amen to the magnificent resolution adopted by the council under the chairmanship of Bishop Paul B. Kern, with reference to "un-American and unconstitutional practices by governmental authorities in the attempt to rid public offices of employees alleged to be engaged in 'subversive' efforts against our nation." This forthright and greatly needed statement by our bishops could not be surpassed for prophetic quality and timeliness, and for fundamental devotion to basic American and Christian principles. More extended comment here is not necessary, though it had been planned, because Bishop Hartman has already dealt with it at length; and we have made copies of this statement of the bishops available for all delegates. This parallels the splendid resolution recently adopted also by the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church; "We call upon the people of our churches to be on guard lest a hysterical fear of Communism shall lead to fighting that danger with weapons destructive of the treasures we seek to guard. . . An inquisitorial investigation of men's personal beliefs is a threat to freedom of conscience. The casting of public suspicion on fellow citizens under the protection of Congressional immunity can readily become an offense against God's commandment, 'Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor'. . . We hold it to be the duty of every Christian citizen to guard for others the freedom of conscience we treasure for ourselves." In view of today's trends toward war with Russia, a particularly fine contribution has been made by the group of religious leaders led by our own Dr. Ralph Sockman, and including Dr. Warfield of the Virginia Conference of the Methodist Church and of our Board of Missions, who in November issued their very constructive Christian statement on American-Soviet relations.

There is much to disturb us in the hysteria and reaction of this postwar period. But there is also one great difference between the situation today and the situation in the somewhat similar period following World War I. Those of us today who would follow the Man of Nazareth without fear and without equivocation into all areas of life, not excluding controversial social areas, may expect to be maligned, and falsely and maliciously labeled. For it has never been easy to follow Jesus or to take him seriously. And this is particularly true today. But those who stood true for the Gospel ethic against the hysteria of post-war reaction following World War I, were very, very lonely people. The thrilling and glorious thing about the adventure

of following Jesus in this similar period is that we are not and need not be lonely. Those in the churches who refuse this time to be frightened, who stand up to be counted for the full social application of the Gospel, are large in number and receptive to the fellowship of this Federation. The Federation has grown tremendously in these recent years. Whatever opposition may come in the crucial period ahead from organized forces of evil, from what Paul called the principalities and powers, we can be confident that the steady growth of the Federation will continue, if our loyalty to the Gospel of Jesus is unswerving and is continually and persistently applied.

We agree with the author of the epistle to Peter who wrote in a similar period when the ranks of the faithful were being attacked, and some were giving way to cynicism or fear: "Nevertheless, we look for *new* heavens and a *new* earth wherein dwelleth righteousness." And in view of the tremendous, dynamic power of the Gospel in and for these times, and the growing number of people across the face of the earth who share the dreams of the Gospel for mankind and accept its imperative for action, we can also say with the great Apostle: "Beloved it doth not yet appear what we shall be."

Methodist Ministers Insist Social Action Is Not Red Front

The Denver Methodist Ministers' Assn. unanimously adopted a resolution stating their conviction that the Methodist Federation for Social Action is not a front for Communism.

The statement adopted by the association was:

"Social action belongs to the essence of Christianity, it is neither an 'extra' nor an appendix. Christianity is a religion with a distinctive character. Its exaltation of moral values and its profound concern for the welfare of persons distinguish it among the religions of mankind.

"God is viewed not as an aloof spectator but as a participant in history in the interest of a rightly ordered world, a Kingdom of God.

"The Methodist Federation for Social Action is nonetheless religious because it emphasizes social action. That merely makes it religious in Christian terms. It proposes the Christianization of society, nothing more or less. It 'fronts' neither for Communism nor for capitalism. Its 'ism' is Christianity.

"Be it resolved, therefore, that discussion and action in this National Conference of the Methodist Federation for Social Action be and is hereby declared to represent the effort of honest men and women to find truly Christian solutions for the pressing problems of our times and to discover for themselves and our church ways of serving God in the spirit of our common Lord, Jesus Christ."

Miss Bette Davis
c/o Warner Bros. Studio
Burbank, California
Dear Bette Davis:

After seeing you in "Deception" I know you are the one person who can solve my problem. The picture is an exact duplicate of my life, except I don't play the piano.

While my husband was in the service I fell in love with another man. This man is not rich like Claude Rains, but he is very handsome and loves me dearly. My husband doesn't know about this yet but I think he will soon find out.

You solved your problem in "Deception" by shooting a man, but I am terribly afraid of guns and must seek some other way out. Won't you tell me what to do?

Dora S_____

Tensions in American Agriculture

ARTHUR RAPER *

To the average American farmer this would seem a queer time of all times to talk about tensions in agriculture. He would point out that things are, generally speaking, about the best they have ever been for the farmer. The figures bear him out, too. For farm incomes, gross and net, are far above average, and the Marshall Plan promises continued high prices for farm products. The typical farmer would also point out that there is an increased rate of purchase of machinery and of home conveniences, and that the farm families in the areas that have been long mechanized and well housed are further modernizing their operations, while the use of farm machinery is now making its greatest relative increase in the areas of the country where farm mechanization came last, namely, in the lower South. Housing improvements and home conveniences, too, are making their greatest relative strides in the lower-level-of-living areas of the nation.

Another reason why tensions in agriculture may now seem to be an odd subject to the typical farmer is that a base of greater equalitarianism among farmers seems now to be being laid down as more farmers do their own work. Corn pickers and combines have greatly reduced the number of seasonal farm workers needed at harvest time in the great wheat and corn belts of this country, while milking machines have substantially reduced the number of hired men needed on dairy farms. Moreover, mechanical cotton pickers and beet harvesters now promise to make it possible for still more farmers to do more and more of their own work. The farmers themselves like to use the machines not only because of the greater possible profits but because they usually like to be relieved of the tedium of supervising low-status farm tenants and hired farm workers.

Beyond all this, the typical farmer may think of this as an odd time to talk about tensions in agriculture for he knows that there has been an increase of part-time farming opportunities available to the farmer in the low-income areas, and that many of the smaller farmers in the high-income areas who are not busy on their own farms throughout the year have readily supplemented their farm incomes by local off-farm employment. They know, too, that there has been a decrease of isolation in rural areas as town-country relations have become closer. That there has been some loss of folk arts as mechanization has increased; but new and important scientific skills and practices have been acquired. That there has been a decrease of primary association, such as neighbors swapping work with each other, and mutual aid practices; but these they know have been perhaps fully compensated for by the increase of secondary association which the farmers themselves find the best way to meet their modern needs: farmers' cooperatives, health insurance programs, commodity groups, and so on.

Quite aside from what the typical farmer may think of the present farming situation, it is of tremendous significance that the farm families of this country constitute our most numerous single group of independent business men. Of the nearly six million farm operators, about two-thirds are independent business men. They decide what they are going to do and when they are going to do it. Generally speaking, the farm families in this country participate more directly and continuously in free enterprise activities than any other group.

All of this, however, does not mean there are not tensions in American agriculture. In fact it may just be that some of the very "successes" enumerated above harbor emerging tensions. For instance, there may well be rising tensions inherent in the fact that farming is becoming more commercialized and more specialized. Census figures on the proportion of farm operators who are tenants show a decrease from 42 per cent in 1930 to 32 per cent in 1945. This looks like a tremendous gain of home ownership of farm. More

significant, however, than the percentage decrease in farm tenants may be the fact that the proportion of land operated by non-owners remains very high, particularly in the best farming sections of the country, namely, the heart of the corn belt area and the eastern portions of the wheat belt. In over half of the counties in the potent agricultural states of Illinois, Iowa, South Dakota, Kansas, and Nebraska half or more of all was under lease to the operator in 1945. During this 15 year period from 1930 to 1945 it was among the very small farms that ownership increased most. The total number of farms under 3 acres doubled during the 15 years, while those from 3 to 9 acres increased by nearly 50 per cent. There was also an increase of farms over 500 acres. But all intermediate size farms decreased in number. The figures also show a further increase of the total agricultural production by the largest farm operators, with 5 per cent of the largest farms in 1945 producing 36 per cent of the total value of the nation's farm products. The very success of the use of machines and modern technology may result in a still further concentration of the American farm enterprise into fewer hands.

The increased commercialization and specialization of farming is causing farm people to become more dependent on cash income and less interested in live-at-home farming. This means more store-bought purchases, and that more money is needed to remain solvent. This does not seem to be a serious problem now that the prices of farm products are high. The 1930's, however, are not wholly out of mind. Many a farmer realizes how difficult it would be for him to continue operations should the price of farm products fall. Should farm prices fall, farmers in the best farming sections of the country might again refuse to bid on a neighbor's land that is being foreclosed, and again marches on state capitols might occur and debt moratoriums be the order of the day.

The emotional value that people put upon land as such seems to be waning as farming becomes more of a business enterprise and less of a way of life. This, too, has its greatest meaning in the years ahead rather than in the immediate present. What difference will it make in the maintenance of rural churches and rural community life should farm people become increasingly less interested in the ownership of land, as now seems the trend? The growing desire for machinery, livestock and the other immediate means of production that make it possible for a farm operator to secure high cash incomes is making land relatively less sought after. The further commercialization and specialization of farming, which has been developed to its greatest extent in the western irrigated areas, has already made land there a means to an end rather than an end in itself. There are intimations that the situation on the west coast which causes many of the large operators there to place a greater value on the use of the land than the ownership of it, may spread into the older eastern parts of the country, particularly where commercial farming is most in evidence.

The best way to get full benefits of farm machinery is to use it as many days as possible each year. The way to do this, naturally enough, is to specialize in a single crop. Except on the west coast, and except for milking machines in the dairy areas, most farm machinery is used only a small part of each year. But changes are taking place rapidly as machinery owners strive to cut the cost of their expenses by making more use of their machinery. This need is back of the fact that farms are becoming larger in size and fewer in number in the highly mechanized wheat and corn belts of the country. The number of farmers in Iowa decreased from 221,986 in 1935 to 213,318 in 1940 to 208,934 in 1945. Significant decreases also occurred in Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and the Dakotas. Thus it is that farms continue to decrease in these best farming states of the Midwest where farming operations are most fully mechanized and where levels of living among

* Arthur Raper of Vienna, Virginia, is author of "Tenants of the Almighty," "Preface to Peasantry" and other books dealing with rural life.

farmers are highest. Combine "parades" are already well established, as hundreds of combines with their crews of men start operations in the Texas Panhandle and follow the crop up the Plains through Kansas, Nebraska, and the Dakotas, and on into Canada. Corn pickers, pick-up hay balers, field ensilage cutters, cotton pickers, beet harvesters, too, may sooner or later constitute "parades" of their own. Let me illustrate my point that machines can be used most profitably when used on one farm after another. During World War II a firm in southern California that specialized in doing custom farm machinery work for specialty crop farmers requested Washington rationing officials for permission to buy a heavy-duty caterpillar tractor. In demonstrating their need for the caterpillar they said it would be used about 5000 hours during the following year. The Washington officials wrote back that they obviously had made a mistake in their application, namely that they meant 500 hours. The answer that came back from the California firm was: "We said 5000 hours, and we mean 5000 hours." This firm specializes in breaking land for crops and in breaking subsoil under alfalfa fields. As planned, the caterpillar tractor would be used almost continuously, day and night, throughout the year. How can individual farmers who use their machinery 500 hours or even 100 hours or less a year compete with the firms that organize their operations so their machines are used a maximum amount of time? The thing I am talking about here is not yet very obvious, but it is my impression that the basic conditions for the trend are already laid down. For instance, it is becoming increasingly difficult to be successful even as an independent general farmer, for a considerable range of expensive specialized equipment is now needed to spray fruit trees, control bean beetles, Japanese beetles, and other crop pests, and to keep down diseases among the family's small but varied livestock—a couple of cows, pigs, and farm-lot chickens. In settlement days there were few insects and diseases that bothered the crops and livestock. That day is fast going. The small farmer cannot afford to own the equipment needed on his place for a few hours each year. The general farmer is handy at making things, all sorts of "contraptions." But not nearly all of the demands can be met by him and his family. It is not yet clear whether the independent small farmer will increasingly drop out of the picture, whether he will secure the use of the needed specialized equipment and services by cooperating with his neighbor, or whether he will hire the work done by firms that have appropriate equipment for serving small farms.

The capitalization of farm land at prices above its earning capacity may also operate in the direction of creating tensions in American agriculture. During prosperous periods the farmers themselves often push the price of land above its earning capacity. Moreover, the value of land is further pushed above its real value by surplus urban money which, for one reason or another, seeks investment in farm properties. Some urban dwellers desire a country estate, some want to develop a show place, while still others, particularly commuters, want to live in the open country where they can have a garden and a pig, and some open space around them. Whatever the reason, whenever money is put into farm land for purposes other than for farming, the price of farm land is pushed above the level where a farmer can make a good living by using it.

Another tension in American agriculture may lie in the fact that the operation of the agricultural ladder is in decline (if indeed it ever operated as it is traditionally supposed to have operated). The theory was that hired farm workers saved up money to become tenants, and then as successful tenants set aside enough to become farm owners. Now-a-days, with land capitalization high and farm machinery expensive, it is practically impossible for a man to begin as a farm laborer and from his earnings as such to become a farm owner. This is especially true in the best farming sections of the country where farm levels of living are most adequate. It is, of course, possible for a man with a very

small amount of cash or credit to become a farm operator in the submarginal farm areas, where it is most difficult to make a living by farming. The status of hired farm workers is declining as the opportunities shrink for farm workers to become operators, and as farm workers become seasonal workers rather than all-year-round farm workers. It may just be that, although the number of farm workers is declining, the farm labor group as such is tending increasingly to become more fitted in its position, that is, a more definitely institutionalized low-status element of our population.

Then there is the matter of what tensions may arise when erstwhile farm workers who are no longer needed on farms move off toward urban centers, or pile up in the rural trade centers. The greatest displacement will occur in the deep South where cotton and sugarcane have been traditionally grown by hand. The elements of the population most involved will likely continue to be the poorer Whites and Negroes. Another element of the population that has been traditionally characterized by low status that will no longer be needed are beet choppers and harvesters, largely Mexicans and Spanish Americans. It is significant that most of the people who will be displaced as cotton, sugarcane, and sugar beet production is mechanized will be people with little education, few skills, and literally no tradition of responsible participation in the affairs of the local community where they live. They have been in large part landless and voteless. They constitute the most inarticulate large elements of the rural population. What will their problems be as they move off toward the cities? Or, what is the likelihood that farm operators may take advantage of their plight and exploit their labor even more than may have occurred during the traditional hand production periods of these crops?

There is a close relationship between institutionalized differentials and tensions in American agriculture. The groups whose low status have been most institutionalized have already been mentioned. A glance at the map will indicate that the great majority of the low-status rural people live in the southern portions of the country from Virginia around to California—Negroes, Spanish-Americans, Mexicans, and Orientals. Institutionalized differentials among the agricultural population, as elsewhere in this nation, are associated with tensions primarily because of our American ideals, which are a force in the direction of increasing the opportunities of all groups to achieve greater equality. Our American credo is such that whenever a group is held in a low-status position, the people who hold them there naturally expect them to resent it, and they usually do. But whether they do or not, the groups who plan to keep them in the low-status position assume that they will try to escape and thereby themselves remain continuously on the alert. There is no way to reconcile the American ideals of individual freedom and democracy with institutionalized differentials. The non-white groups—Negroes, Indians, and Orientals—are the most tightly held in place, and naturally enough these are the groups around which the greatest tensions occur. Institutionalized differentials almost as strong often obtain in areas where there are Mexicans and Spanish-Americans. A much lighter, but noticeable, degree of institutionalized differentials occur with the "Oakies" in California, the "Kentuckians" in the corn and wheat areas, and the French Canadians and southern Europeans in the northeastern states. There are some factors operating to reduce the institutionalized differentials in the farm population, such as public education, public health services, equitable administration of courts, and so on. The best means by which the church can make its contribution here is a matter which should be of concern to all of us.

Another condition closely related to rural tensions centers around the fact that most farmers, though essentially workers themselves, nearly always identify themselves with industrial employers as over against industrial workers. It would help greatly if somehow or other the great bulk of farmers could come to think of themselves primarily as workers and consumers, which most of them are. Broadly, tensions are also

(Continued on page 47)

The Christian Church and Economic Tensions

KERMIT EBY *

Basic to all offering the Church has to make to labor is the offering that grows out of its custodianship of the profound social and ethical teachings that spring from the Old and New Testaments. These teachings bear upon the whole of our common life—upon management, labor and all the agencies in a free economy—but today especially upon labor. With the rapid development of science and technology and the drive on the part of ownership to consolidate forces and to monopolize, it has become increasingly difficult to make real the Christian affirmation that 'labor is not a commodity.'

The growth of the labor movement out of the needs and aspirations of working men and women in industry and on the farms is proof that the spirit and outlook of the Old Testament prophets and of the early Church are a powerful force within modern civilization. Where the labor movement has grown and is strong the elements of true democracy, upon which a free religious culture can be based, are active. Where the labor unions not only have grown in numbers but have enlarged their vision and deepened their sense of social responsibility, there alone has the spiritual and ethical tradition of the Judeo-Christian hope maintained itself against the forces of reaction and totalitarianism.

The chief problem of the Church today as it considers what it has to offer labor, or should have to offer labor is not the continued repetition of biblical phrases that have become a too easy stock in trade, or the framing of more general pronouncements that can be quoted on appropriate occasions. We are now up against the hard proposition of putting our words into practice or taking them back. We shall see that following through in the implementation of our creeds may mean basic changes in the polity and structure of organized religion and in the teaching function of the Church. May I indicate a direction which we, in my opinion, shall have to take, if our social teachings are to mean very much for the revolutionary period in which we are living?

The Church must help its leaders and members see organized labor in a much wider, all-embracing framework. This means going beyond conceding labor's right to bargain collectively to get its share of the national wealth, or, having conceded this right, to stand on the side lines as observers of the struggle.

1. The Church can make clear the Christian's responsibility for action in the field of economics and politics. Christian social action in cooperation with labor to conquer poverty and eliminate substandard conditions is imperative.

2. The Church can offer labor a helping hand by re-examining her structure and teaching function in the light of her professed social ideals. If the Church and labor are allies the first offering it can make is to lay on the altar of service some of its best sons and daughters who will dedicate their whole lives to a labor ministry of love. For decades the Church has recruited, trained and commissioned leaders from the ranks of youth for the preaching, teaching ministry, for homes and foreign missions, for hospitalization and medicine. Why should it not now lead in the creation of a new Christian vocation, and adjust its training program, especially in the seminaries, to the preparation of this leadership.

Another important area in which the Church might venture further in support of labor is in bringing all her own institutions fully into line. It seems to me it is here where the dynamic of religion might find its way into the hearts of all union members and union officers involved in our contractual relations.

Another important way to aid labor is for the different

denominations to create Departments of Labor and Industrial Relations staffed by experts who can, in effect, become roving ambassadors of good will, by speaking and writing, set up training institutes, relate theological students to labor through summer employment in industry, set up church-management-labor conferences, and visit scenes of industrial conflict.

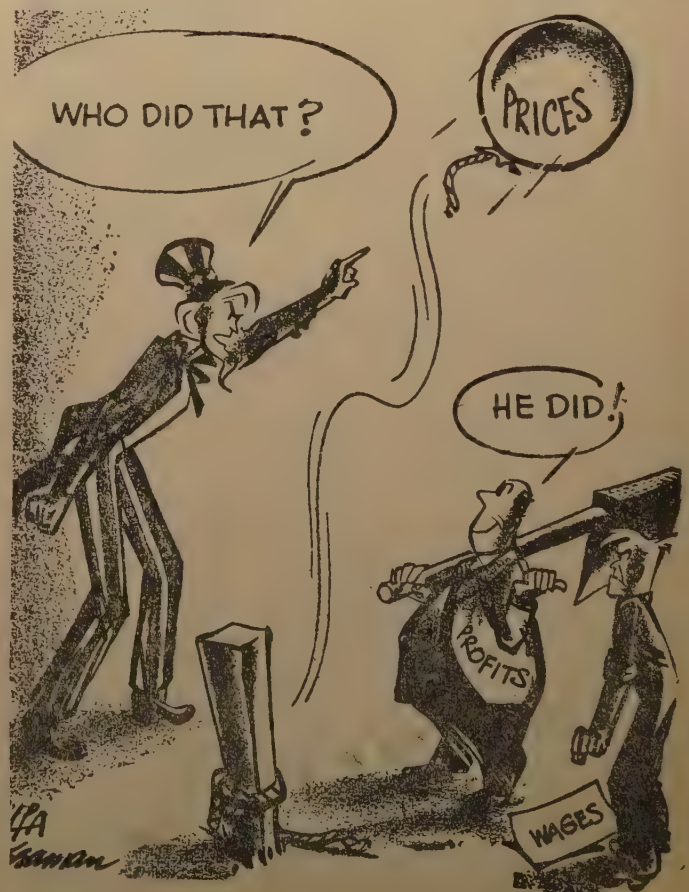
If the Church will recognize that there is no return to 'normalcy', but that it must push through to a new order; if it will re-discover God by mastering the inchoate forces in the local and world community; if it will encourage labor to overcome race prejudice and its own divisions by establishing integrated religious organisms that cross race and color lines, if it will only love and seek to save individuals but cooperate fully and openly with workers collectively for economic goals best described by President Roosevelt's Economic Bill of Rights, then it will no longer have to fear that it is presumptuous in offering spiritual guidance.

TOP BILLING

A gushing Washington lady met a rector on the street one day and asked, "Tell me, do you expect the President to be in church next Sunday?"

"That", said the rector, "I cannot promise. But I expect God to be there, and I fancy that will be incentive enough for a reasonably large attendance."

—This Week



* Kermit Eby is Director of the C.I.O. Dept. of Research and Education.

What About Russia?

DR. JEROME DAVIS *

Our relations with Russia are perhaps the greatest moral and religious challenge of our time. Few would not recognize that Russia has faults just as we do, but I think any fair minded student will recognize that Russia has made great progress since the Tsar's regime.

Almost thirty-two years ago in April 1916, I was sent to Tsarist Russia by the American Y.M.C.A.² In the first camp in which I was working seventy-five were dying every day. I found that in the Turkestan area of Tsaristic Russia, ninety-two per cent of the people were illiterate. The common people had no medical service. Polygamy was widespread and prostitution was everywhere. All the women and girls wore horse hair veils shutting them out from the sunshine and light. The Russian soldiers were receiving twenty-five cents a month in wages and seven soldiers were dipping their spoons into a common dishpan for their noon day meal. Graft and corruption were rampant.

Some twenty-one years later, the whole region had been miraculously transformed. Illiteracy was practically abolished for the first time in all history in this area. Polygamy had been abolished. Medicine was free to all. There were schools for all and work for all and the large estates had been divided up among all the people.

All of this does not imply that Russia is a utopia, far from it. But they do have to a great extent freedom from fear and freedom from want. There is still dishonesty and much remains to be done but the transformation is so great that I venture to say that most impartial social scientists would agree that no nation in history has made a greater advance in a shorter space of time.

Now how must we in America deal with the Soviet Union? Fundamentally it seems to me, it is the problem of the "good neighbor," the problem of the Good Samaritan. We profess to be Christian in belief and action, then why not begin by applying the principles of Jesus in our relations with the Russian people and government?

We talk about the control of the press in Russia but actually as the recent survey of our press, conducted by the University of Chicago, has shown too often we actually have control by advertisers and capitalists in America. At the present time this has resulted in a warping of the facts about Russia and a propaganda campaign against her which is unprecedented.

If we want to be Christian we cannot judge Russia by name calling or by hysteria but only in the light of *facts*. Yet all over America the press tends to condemn Russia on the basis of false or twisted charges. Only recently I saw the hoary falsehood about the nationalization of women revived. Again at a recent meeting I was told that all children were taken away from their parents in Russia. Of course, this is untrue.

We must not judge Russia on the basis of lofty ideals devoid of application. We must not judge Russia on the basis of her evils when her total record may be better than our own. Every group tends to think it is spotless and that the other group is always to blame. The fact is Russia is much like ourselves. She has her shortcomings, we have ours. Take as an example the peace record of Russia as contrasted with that of the United States.

Following the Russian Revolution in 1918, Russia stood for peace as contrasted with the United States which invaded Russia together with Japan, and other nations. In other words, Russia has never invaded the United States, but we have invaded the Soviet Union. Following unsuccessful intervention, the United States participated in a blockade of Russia and for sixteen years did not recognize her.

Between the two World Wars, Soviet Russia had the best

peace record of any nation in Europe. She first attempted to get disarmament. This was blocked by the United States and Great Britain. Later she tried to stop aggression in Manchuria, in Ethiopia and by Hitler in Nazi Germany. She offered to fight with Czechoslovakia against Hitler. Sumner Welles, Former Under Secretary of State, says, "Litvinoff became the foremost prophet of the basic principles underlying the Covenant of the League of Nations. No responsible European statesman in the decade of the thirties saw more clearly or spoke more truly. Unfortunately he proved to be a prophet crying in the wilderness. His insistence that peace is indivisible, fell on deaf ears. His demand that the Western powers join with the Soviet Union in recognizing the dangers inherent in the rearmament of Germany were disregarded."

In the II World War, Russia held down ten times as many German troops as did the United States and Great Britain and she lost fifteen million dead.

Following the war, Russia spends less on military appropriations than the United States. America has a navy larger than all the navies of the world combined, the best long range bombers in the world and the exclusive secret of the atomic bomb. Russia has been devastated over as large an area as all Europe; she has almost no navy, very few long range bombers and no atomic bombs.

Contrary to the false propaganda current in the United States, the facts show that the Soviet Union today has 85,605 square miles less of territory than she had when the Revolution broke. The territory she has been getting back has been land that formerly belonged to her and was wrongfully taken away from her at the end of the first World War.

Since the war on the whole Russia's policy has been for peace. She gave Finland fair peace terms as the American Ambassador himself testified and Finland has had free and fair elections. Czechoslovakia is today one of the freest countries in all Europe. Naturally, Russia wants to have friendly governments on her borders in Roumania and Poland but so does the United States herself demand friendly governments in Japan, China, Guam and Samoa.

Russia has tried to work through the United Nations for peace. The mere fact that she opposes some of the proposals of the United States is nothing against her, that is her right. The United States was the country that insisted on the veto in the Security Council.

The Russian people are unalterably opposed to war. They would never declare war on the United States. Stalin has repeatedly reiterated his desire for peace as he did to seven members of the British Labor Party on October 14th, in these words:

"Just as the Soviet Union has always stood for improvement of political and economic relations with all countries, so it now stands for such improvement beginning with the United States and Great Britain. If these countries wish to improve relations . . . we shall be prepared to go forward to meet them . . . cooperation between countries having different economic systems is possible. If, however, they do not want to improve their relations with the Soviet Union, we will wait until they regain their reason. . . . We are a patient people."

If war comes, it will not be Russia that declares war but the United States. And if war does come, everyone will lose. We could not possibly patrol all Russia indefinitely. The real victor would be Communism, which would sweep all Europe in the wake of another war.

The opinion of many neutral statesmen is that Russia has been as great a force for peace as the United States.

In Sweden, talking with governmental leaders and editors, they resented the fact that the United States had tried to block a Swedish loan to Russia. They said that the United States was a greater threat to peace than Russia.

* Dr. Davis, former professor at Yale Divinity School, is the author of "Capitalism and Its Culture" and many other books.

Professor Harold Laski, formerly at Harvard, now at the London School of Economics and last year Chairman of the British Labor Party Executive, told me in October in London, "Russia is not the greatest threat to the peace, it is the United States. Stalin does not want war and will do anything to keep the country from war. The same cannot be said for America."

In conclusion, then, we can say that in the light of the record of the past thirty years, in the light of the actual facts, the Soviet Union certainly has a record as a force for peace the equal of that of the United States.

If Japan attacks Pearl Harbor, eventually we defeat her and seize all of the Japanese islands. MacArthur rules with an iron hand. Every foot of film is censored. No Russian film is permitted to be shown, not even the films that are shown freely in the United States. All newspapers are censored. The United States even writes the constitution and forces Japan to accept it. This seems justifiable to most Americans, but now note the parallel. Roumania attacked Russia. She seized Odessa. She murdered, she burned, she raped. Eventually Russia defeated her. Today if Russia exerts any control on the Roumanian Government, our press screams from the Atlantic to the Pacific. I cannot see what is the fundamental difference between our control of Japan and the Russians' exerting influence on Roumania.

Again take the case of Manchuria. If the United States had been devastated from New York to Oklahoma and the Japanese had installed machinery in Mexico when they invaded that country, let us suppose eventually the United States threw out the Japanese forces and seized Mexico. In view of the fact that most of our factories had been destroyed, does it not seem likely that we would seize the Japanese machinery in Mexico? Yet when Russia does identically what we would have done in her place in Manchuria, our press screams from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Americans, if they stop to think, want to deal with Russia on the basis of justice. It is quite apparent that we are not doing this at the present time. Think of Russia's war damages. She was invaded and occupied over a territory as large as all of Europe. She had fifteen times the losses of the British and Americans combined. She had six million homes destroyed. Twenty-five million were deprived of shelter. Two thousand towns and cities were destroyed. Seventy thousand villages, forty thousand clinics and hospitals, 109 million head of livestock destroyed. All but three of her sugar refineries were gone. One-third of her industries were burned or bombed. One-third of her agricultural facilities were made useless. In all, the Germans did property damage alone amounting to 679 billion rubles. In the face of these appalling losses, the United States callously denied Russia's modest demand of ten billions in reparations.

When Russia applied for a loan, the United States denied that she had made an application, and nine months later declared it had been lost in the State Department files. From that day to this we have blocked all loans to Russia. At the same time, we are making loans to every reactionary government which will oppose the Soviet Union. This is not acting on the basis of justice.

Indeed, our record is so bad that the president of Perfection Frocks in a large advertisement in the New York Herald-Tribune for December 26 accuses the prime producers of basic commodities in America of now laying the basis for atomic war. He declares that if we would act justly towards Russia we would prevent the possibility of the third world war.

In Saudi Arabia we have secured control of the most valuable oil rights in the world. When Russia wished to gain the right to develop oil in northern Iran, we blocked it. We have sent officers and advisers to help train the army of Iran. Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes, noted historian, says that if Russia had taken similar action in, let us say, Panama, the United States would have declared war without hesitation.

In the Russian zone of Germany, cartels have been destroyed, and Nazis have been removed from all major

positions of influence. This is not true in the American zone. James S. Martin, former Decartilization Chief, United States Military Government in Germany, said the United States blocked the breaking up of German cartels. He says, "For the second time in twenty-five years we have watched Americans contribute hundreds of millions of dollars to prove to the German people that crime does pay." "Now our policy in Germany coincides with what the German financiers, industrialists and Nazi militarists have wanted us to do ever since they surrendered."

Finally, if we are Christians we must deal with Russia on the basis of one world of peace instead of on a basis of two worlds and of World War III.

Drew Pearson, who inspired the Friendship Train for Europe and who has just been to Europe with the food shipments, declared in his syndicated column that we did not want the London Conference to succeed and probably made stipulations which we knew would be unacceptable to the Russians. He says, "In other words, the U.S.A. has put itself in the unenviable position of not wanting a peace treaty for Germany—the same obstructionist position it has accused Russia of occupying for the last two years. All this boils down to the fact that General Marshall is convinced that, once the four zones of Germany are unified, the Russians will soon dominate all Germany. Thus, for two long years the U.S.A. has been harping on the idea of unifying Germany and now we are worried sick for fear it will be unified. This reversal of position to some extent is a reflection on ourselves—by at least 50 per cent."

If we want to build one world, we must make loans to all, including Russia. Recently we withdrew a loan to Czechoslovakia unjustifiably. We should make a loan to Poland which was the first country to bear the brunt of the Nazi attack. It is altogether unjustifiable for us to do as we did and protest to Sweden if she makes a loan to Russia.

In conclusion, it seems to me that the Methodist Conference for Social Action might very well take some of the following steps:

1. Have a conference with Secretary of State Marshall or with George Kennan.
2. Help to circulate books on Russia; such as *The Great Conspiracy*, Sir Bernard Pears' *History of Russia*, and *Behind Soviet Power*. It would be well if the members read the magazine, "Soviet Russia Today," to get the other side to some of the propaganda in our press.
3. We should arrange meetings in every community on Russia.
4. We should write our senators and congressmen demanding that the United States grant a loan to Russia.
5. We should try to promote radio addresses and letters to the press which are friendly to Russia.
6. We should preach at least one sermon on Russia showing the positive side.
7. We should develop a spirit of humility and contrition, recognizing American sins as well as Russian sins.
8. We should oppose economic greed on the part of the United States.
9. We should oppose all loans for bullets, machine guns and mass murder, whether in China, Turkey or Greece.

ANNOUNCING

A new booklet by Prof. Clyde R. Miller, of Columbia University: "Propaganda—How and Why It Works."

Published by the Commission for Propaganda Analysis of the M.S.A.

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The Despair of Democracy in Greece

EDGAR N. WAHLBERG*

Our problem as Christians is to understand the people and the democratic forces of Europe. This is difficult for American Christians who have not shared the sufferings of the people and their fierce political-economic struggles. We cannot understand until we have a realistic compassion for the masses whose democratic aspirations and institutions have been all but crushed. I brought with me when I left Greece a bushel basket of paper money. I have given away thousands of bills of denominations from 1,000 drachmas to 10,000,000,000 drachmas. (The exchange in the post-war years was five drachmas to one U. S. dollar.) I have tried to get Americans to imagine what kind of people they would be if the tables of fate were turned and American dollars were as worthless as these discarded drachmas. There is no moral reason why it should be the Greeks instead of the Americans. It is not impossible that it will eventually include Americans. We need to understand this. These drachmas are worthless because of the shattered economy of Greece and because of British policy which initiated a new currency to undermine what financial strength the provisional government of Greece (EAM) might have had.

Eighteen hundred (25% to 100%) burned and destroyed towns and villages bear silent testimony to the fierce military resistance of the Greeks. The Germans tried to wipe out guerrilla warfare by eliminating the towns which supported them. History has memorialized Kalavrita. Two hundred Germans had been killed. In retaliation the Germans rounded up all the men, some 1,100 of this town of 3,800 and killed all but five who crawled out of the bloody mess and recovered; the Germans then completely destroyed the town. We need to have some understanding of what happens to people who live through such experiences and what they do under such circumstances.

It seemed logical for them to co-operate and to initiate a peoples movement through which the people might help themselves. Except for the extreme Conservatives, Royalists, Collaborationists and the German inspired anti-Communist Security Battalions, political and economic forces in Greece were united in EAM, the National Liberation Front. The movement initiated the guerrilla and military resistance known as ELAS which grew to about 40,000 armed personnel. Efficient cells were established in nearly every village and political unit of Greece. The movement was successful in gaining widespread popular support so that when the Germans withdrew it seemed that they had worked out a thorough political organization for the rehabilitation of Greece in the post-war year. Spokesmen for the organization had carried on vigorous propaganda stressing a patriotic unity and hopes for improved social and economic conditions after the war. They met with enthusiastic response among intellectuals, democratic minded citizens and the youth. They approved of and initiated basic democratic practices and reforms and looked forward to cooperation with the Allied nations.

I visited large areas of EAM Greece and witnessed much of their good work. The Communists which had been forced underground by the pre-war Metaxas regime was a part of this movement. Nevertheless, most of the significant leaders of the movement were non-Communists. It was to all intents and purposes a peoples movement for the liberation of Greece in the hard years following the war. They believed in Balkan and International co-operation. This belief was and is strongest in the Northern districts where large numbers are related by marriage, a natural consequence of neighboring states. An anti-Bulgarian, Yugo-

Slav policy seemed as illogical to them as an anti-Canadian policy would seem unreasonable to many people in Michigan. The pro-British counter movement, EDES, under Napoleon Zervas, which was opposed to the internationalism and domestic policies of EAM proved incapable of developing popular support. EDES dissolved before the attack of ELLAS and only a remnant was saved by the presence of British forces.

For the first time in history the Greek people had a realistic political program. The logic of history offered this movement a moral right to serve Greece. That EAM-ELAS failed to retain its leadership and to exercise control of Greece when the Germans withdrew was largely due to the reversal of British policy. ELAS had successfully defeated the armed German fostered Greek Security Battalions which represented the last fond hopes of the Royalists and economic Reactionaries and Collaborationists.

The so-called civil war was primarily a conflict between the British and ELAS in which the powers of the democratic forces of Greece were largely broken. The pro-Royalist forces transferred by the British from Italy and the Middle East were made the core of the Greek army. The anti-Communist National Guard and armed pro-Royalist civilian bands have continued to spread terror and fear and to blot out every semblance of liberalism. Intimidation through months of unrestrained coercion guaranteed the complete victory of the Rightists and Royalists in the elections of 1946. I was acquainted with scores of moderate liberals and democratic minded people who have been jailed and some executed for their so-called Communist interests. They are people who could not morally accept the terrible denial of the rights of the people in Greece. It is preposterous for anyone who is even slightly acquainted with Greece to believe that hundreds of political executions and that 20,000 and more political prisoners can be justified on the basis of the threat of Communism.

Our American representatives in Greece have been able to inspire the co-operation of one ancient liberal senile eighty-six year old Mr. Soffoulis. With this kind of liberalism we dare justify our leadership in Greece. The truth is that the peoples' movement in Greece is prostrate. Its best leaders are now dead or broken.

We Americans find it difficult to understand because we have not lived through the sufferings or the economic and political frustrations of people who have been betrayed on almost every front. Our policy helps to maintain a Greek military force of up to 250,000 men, the largest in the history of Greece. The saddest element in the picture is not that Greece cannot afford an army of even 5,000 men, but that 250,000 men represents for the most part the only able-bodied men in Greece who ought to be released to rehabilitate Greece.

Greece is a nation of widows, orphans, sick and mutilated bodies, and disillusioned minds and spirits. The people lived through Turkish rule and the intrigue of the large nations up and through and beyond the first World War. They survived the Fascist threat and the German occupation. They fell broken at the feet of their avowed democratic Allies and friends who collaborated with the Collaborationists and anti-democratic interests of Greece. The wonder is that there remains some democratic resistance and guerrilla fighting in Greece. The avowed purpose of American policy in Greece is first of all to wipe out all armed political opposition by helping the Greek army and by restoring transportation facilities so that the Greek army can move more easily from one area to another in dealing with the guerrillas. In other words, the dictatorial government

(Continued on page 47)

* Dr. Wahlberg is pastor of Olivet Methodist Church, Dearborn, Michigan.

In a "White Man's World"

THELMA STEVENS *

The term "human relations" is broad in its scope, but in this statement the issue must be confined to human relations in the church and community with reference to racial and religious minorities.

When a group seriously comes to grips with this issue, they find little that is new in the problem itself or in its solution. Possibly the only fresh approach to the question can be found in the *motivation to immediate action* which is imperative now, if the world is to be saved from chaos and the soul of the church is to be freed from its stagnation.

There are certain things to remember as we seek to work effectively toward the solution of the problem.

(1) The question surrounding the denial of human rights to individuals and groups because of race or religion has grave implications for the present and future peace and security of the entire *World*. It is not a National issue only.

(2) In the United States the issue is *National in its scope* and should not get lost in "sectional" controversy or by the easy escape method of confessing the other fellow's sins!

(3) The solution of the problem calls for the best coordination of all church and community resources of all races and groups.

(4) The strength of the contribution of the church to this total process will be determined by the effort exerted within its own body to outlaw once and for all caste and class within its own organization structure and program.

1—The major problem of *Human Relations in Church and Community* is A "White Man's Problem."

The world we live in is a "White Man's World." We speak glibly of the "American Creed," which recognizes the essential dignity of man, the fundamental equality of all men, their inalienable right to freedom, justice and self-development—but in actual practice "man" in this definition is *white*! Every normal means used to reach the mind of man in this United States of ours is dominantly *colored* by the "White" Man. The psychological state thus created has far reaching effects on our world relations, and becomes an unconscious medium for determining our group relations in this country. This pattern of education and behavior has become so evident that racial minorities are compelled to build up a comparable small scale "combat line" to present their own case to their own people! For example take current popular magazines and check the ones you read most (if you are an *average* white man or woman) and see how much of it relates to a "white man's world." Take also magazines published by and for Negroes and check the results. Even the General Christian Advocate of the Methodist Church follows this pattern, and cuts the white constituency almost entirely aloof from the Negro constituency and vice versa. There has even been some suggestion by some people that church school material should be published for two groups with pictures adapted to each—namely white pictures for white folks and Negro pictures for Negro folks! The reason back of such a suggestion is too obvious!

Movies and radio programs by and large are directed to the white man. When Negroes are featured in the movies it is done in most cases in a stereotyped fashion. The same is true on the stage except in rare instances. The present Ice Show at Center Theater in New York illustrates the pattern. Right in the middle of a beautiful ice skating festival a group of "black-faced," white-eared comedians appear to burlesque a stereotyped pattern of the Negro.

The public school curriculum is geared to a "white man's world." History books are written about white folks, and that accounts for endless generations of unconcern, or indifference and traditional prejudice among white people, and an equal amount of resentment and prejudice among Negroes. In the current December issue of "The Crisis", Dr. W. E. B. DuBois makes the following statement:

"If however the effect of the color caste system on the

North American Negro has been both good and bad, its effect on the white American has been disastrous. It has repeatedly led the greatest modern attempt at democratic government to deny its political ideals, to falsify its philanthropic assertions and to make its religion to a great extent hypocritical. A nation which boldly declared "That all men are created equal," proceeded to build its economy on chattel slavery; masters who declared race mixture impossible, sold their own children into slavery and left a mulatto group which neither law nor science can today disentangle; churches which excused slavery as calling the heathen to God, refused to recognize the freedom of converts or admit them to equal communion."

The Japanese evacuation on the West Coast was different from the treatment of German and Italian aliens. It is a white man's world!

More often than not white people are unaware of and insensitive to the status of the Negro or other persons of color in society. Too much is taken for granted. A young daughter of a prominent church family near New York City went to college in Virginia. While there she became conscious for the first time of the pattern of segregation as it effected Negroes in large numbers in that small Virginia city. She went home for a weekend and found to her dismay that the same pattern existed in her own church and community. She asked, "Has it always been this way, Daddy?"

We live in a "White Man's World!"

2—The Church by its Very Nature is impelled to work on this Problem.

From the Report of the Conference on Racism and World Order, March 1944, came the following statement:

"The world's chaos and bloodshed are important reasons for widespread and profound thinking regarding the basic problems of race. No less than a new world order based on the principles of our Lord Jesus Christ will answer the urgent need of this hour. The upheaval in the world and the tensions in America are the result of mankind's failure to take seriously the teachings of Jesus. It is not required that we succeed at every step, although we must endeavor to make every effort count, but there is no way in which the church can escape the imperative of Christ to banish racial injustice and lead the way to a new day of racial understanding."

John Knox in his pamphlet "The Christian Church and Race," published by the Federal Council of Churches, stated that the Church's task, in the light of its tradition and faith, is threefold:

(1) The church must become a "supra-racial community." He stated that the church can do nothing really important in the field of race relations until it becomes a "racially inclusive community." This calls for a "deeper repentance" than the church has known for centuries, if we are to uproot the sin of racial segregation and exclusiveness.

(2) The church must attack all forms of discrimination—political, economic, and social—against any individual or group on the ground of race.

"The church will be especially sensitive to the injustice of compulsory segregation . . . because this is a sin against the souls of men."

(3) The church is obligated "to build community"—to lead in developing a more adequate interracial life within society as a whole. The church must seek not only to uproot segregation in the community, but to build an organic fellowship in the life of the community.

If we follow the lead of these directives the Methodist Church may well take inventory of its practices with the full intent of revolutionizing its organic and institutional life to serve in a world like this. The Second Quadrennium approaches its close. General Conference is just around the corner. Plans for a great church's ministry to the world will be projected for the years immediately ahead. The effectiveness of these plans will hinge on the sincerity with

* Dept. of Christian Social Relations, Woman's Society of Christian Service.

which we seek to implement the "Social Creed" which we profess in theory to believe. This implementation must take into account the evidences on every hand that call for change. The greatest obstacles to change will be met on two counts:

(1) *Smug complacency or complete unawareness* of racial discrimination within the church itself. This is best illustrated in geographic sections where segregation is not the "legalized" community pattern, and where the number of any racial minority is comparatively small. The minorities have little chance for leadership or active participation in the larger group life of the church.

(2) The "*Jim Crow*" pattern in some sections, with "legalized" segregation with its deep rooted tradition of white supremacy, offers a great barrier, particularly among many *ministers* and *lay-men* plus some women!

To meet the issue there is need for an adequate program of education plus church legislation that will indicate the immediacy of the challenge. There is not time for the traditional theory of evolution to take its course. We learned a new lesson in *timing* during the war. If somehow we could wake up and see that the sun has risen on a *new day*, surely the church would see that it is helpless to preserve a tradition that is dead! The church must either get in the vanguard of the great world movements for changing traditional patterns, or Christianity will again be forced into the tombs of the dark ages. We cannot wait longer to confess our sins and begin to lead the new life about which we speak so glibly!

The following specific may indicate some points of concern in the *education and action process*.

1. The enactment by the general church bodies (Board of Education, Board of Missions, etc.) of a policy of non-discrimination for all Jurisdiction Schools, so that Methodist leaders of any race may come and go with freedom and full participation. This will necessitate new policies for some assembly grounds. This will remove the question from the jurisdiction of local governing boards or special policy-making bodies, and recognize the fact that we are all members of *one Church*.

(2) The policies and practices of all institutions of the Church should be studied with special reference to racial segregation and steps be taken immediately to bring them in line with the Social Creed.

(3) Special attention should be given by the entire Church to the recruiting, training, and employment of more colored personnel by The Methodist Church on its Board staffs, and in institutions at home and abroad without discrimination. This is imperative if we keep pace with the day in which we are living. Such steps will include immediate steps to eliminate segregated training centers for missionaries and ministers.

(4) The officers of the Boards and Divisions of The Methodist Church should include members of minority racial groups.

(5) The *stated policy and practice* of the Woman's Division relative to housing its national meetings on a non-segregated basis should be the *stated policy* of the Methodist Church and its Boards for all national meetings. Similar policies should then be urged for Jurisdictions.

(6) Steps should be taken as speedily as possible to remove the stigma of segregation as evidenced by a separate Jurisdiction for Negroes. As a parallel to such a move the segregated conferences for Indians, Mexicans, and Orientals should also be studied and a system evolved that will make it possible to have geographical areas of administration without over-lapping because of race. With similar aims a study must also be made of the Negro Conferences, where just *one conference* covers the States of Kentucky, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, and Indiana, over-lapping some *13 white conferences*! The absurdity of such a pattern of segregation within the Methodist Church is self-evident.

(7) Finally, it is self-evident that the Christian Church, by whatever denomination it may be called, faces a task of great immediacy and of primary importance. It must seek

redemption from the sin of racial segregation in its own body, and become a fellowship of Christians without racial or national barriers, if it would fulfill its mission today.

3—*The Community Approach to the Problem is the Responsibility of Church, Government, and other Community Agencies.*

In the introduction to the final section of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights we find the following statement:

"Mr. President: Your committee has reviewed the American Heritage and we have found in it again the great goals of human freedom and equality under just laws. We have surveyed the flaws in the nation's record and have found them to be serious. We have considered what government's appropriate role should be in the securing of our rights and have concluded that it must assume greater leadership.

We believe that the time for action is now. Our recommendations for bringing the United States closer to its historic goal follow."

Those recommendations "to secure these rights" are directed to every one of us, because we are the government in a democracy—all the agencies and all the people including the church of every faith and group.

If we are responsible, then where do we start to implement this Report from the President's Committee?

Many things are already under way. It is important not to overlook signs of progress, and there are many! The following listing may indicate places where new footholds are urgent now:

(1) Equal and better educational facilities for all groups of people regardless of race or creed.

(2) Equal economic and job opportunities for everybody.

(3) Equal access to housing in any community without restrictive covenants because of race or creed.

(4) Equal access to Health facilities.

(5) Equal access to public services without regard to race or creed.

(6) Equal protection under the law.

(7) Equal protection of Civil Rights.

(8) Equal and adequate safeguard of the right of every citizen to vote in *all* elections.

All of the above issues are well known to all of us, but we have not yet developed ways of work to reach the goal with any measure of speed. We must influence more people to work at the job of *political action* in the community, state, and nation. The church channels contact groups and individuals not reached by any other medium, as well as individuals already actively affiliated with political action groups *outside* the church. All the forces for good must unite their efforts. *Church groups need to know how to work effectively on such crucial issues.*

Cary McWilliams says that "Every institution that abandons a discriminatory practice makes the retention of that practice that much more untenable for every other institution."

4—*The Methodist Federation for Social Action can speak and act to change "Human Relations In Church and Community."*

The following may indicate some "points of departure" at least:

(1) The following Memorials to General Conference were passed by the Woman's Division in Annual Meeting at Buck Hill Falls, December 1947:

(a) A Memorial Regarding Racial Segregation In The Methodist Church—The organization of our church by its present system of jurisdictions and conferences explicitly accepts the principle of racial segregation. The church by the nature of its faith is constrained to become more adequately Christian in its plan of organization. We respectfully memorialize the General Conference of 1948 to take such steps as may be necessary to abolish this pattern of segregation in The Methodist Church.

(b) A Memorial Regarding Programs Across Jurisdictional and Conference Lines—For many Methodist women

the quadrennium has brought new fellowship among all racial groups. These experiences have confirmed and enriched our Christian faith. Student and youth groups and leaders in religious education have had similar experience. Understanding and new loyalties have been created bridging traditional barriers of racial distrust.

We hereby call upon General Conference to authorize and institute procedure whereby programs of general church emphasis may be promoted across Jurisdiction and Conference lines."

The Federation chapters and members can work with the women to find ways of arriving at such goals.

(2) The United Nations Commission on Human Rights has just completed a *Declaration of Human Rights* in Geneva. Copies of same will be sent in January to all the member nations of United Nations for their study and approval. The extent to which the general public is stimulated and informed at this point will determine the official attitude of our nation on this Declaration of Human Rights.

As an illustration of what this means to the U. S., the general public should know about the 155 page document presented by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on October 23, 1947 to the United Nations—A statement on the Denial of Human Rights to Minorities in the case of Citizens of Negro Descent in the United States of America, and an appeal to the United Nations for Redress.

(3) The urgent need for widespread study of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights is Obvious. The Federation Program for the year might well give major attention to the implementation of this report. If every chapter of the Federation would promote a conference or institute or seminar or workshop built around some phase of the Committee's report, many thousands of Methodists and possibly many others would be helped to act more swiftly on these issues.

(4) The question of Federal Aid to Education is one of the most far reaching and complicated domestic issues confronting us today. There is great need for clarification of the issue in an objective fashion so that citizens may influence the congressional action with more intelligence. The recent report of the President's Commission on Higher Education added its voice to the need for Federal Aid, but also pointed out the waste evident in a dual school system. There are two questions of grave concern to many Christians of goodwill:

(a) Should Federal Aid be made available increasingly for non-tax supported and publicly administered schools as implied in the present Taft bill for Federal Aid to Education?

(b) Should Federal Aid be granted to any agency practicing segregation? (The Report of The President's Committee recommends "the conditioning by Congress of all federal grants-in-aid and other forms of federal assistance to public or private agencies for any purpose on the absence of discrimination and segregation, based on race, color, creed, or national origin.")

The Social Questions Bulletin might discuss such questions, urging Chapters to use the material as a basis for public forums or group discussions.

(5) Possibly no problem on the horizon today contributes more to the negative forces that influence "Human Relations" than that of *Housing*. In states where there are no Jim Crow laws on the statute books, the pattern of segregated housing in a community builds barriers and brings about segregation in many other areas of community living. Churches and schools usually serve geographic communities. If families could live where they please without intimidation, normal contacts would develop and custom would be outlawed.

The use of pending National Housing Legislation as a springboard for study of the whole issue of segregated Housing would have great value.

(6) The Public should be given the facts about the system of segregation practiced in the Panama Canal Zone. The

President's Committee recommended Congressional legislation for ending this practice, and since the Federal Government has complete Jurisdiction over the Canal Zone such steps could be taken without delay. (The current issue of *Common Ground* and *The Crisis* carry stories of practices in the Canal Zone.)

(7) Special attention should be given to the following pending issues concerning Japanese-Americans:

1. At its Executive Committee meeting on November 18, 1947, the Federal Council of Churches voted:

"Resolved, That the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America expresses the hope that the Congress of the United States will complete action in removing the principle of discrimination in our immigration and naturalization laws respecting Orientals, to the end that all Oriental peoples now racially ineligible for citizenship may be granted the same status in relation to our immigration and naturalization laws as that at present accorded the peoples of China, India and the Philippine Islands."

(a) *IMMIGRATION*: Nothing happened to H. R. 857 and S. 602 (companion bills) removing the racial restrictions upon naturalization and repealing the ban on admission into the United States of natives of certain Pacific Islands and a portion of the Continent of Asia.

(b) H. R. 3999, passed by the House of Representatives, authorizes the "Attorney General to adjudicate claims arising out of the evacuation or exclusion of persons of Japanese ancestry from West Coast military areas, Alaska and Hawaii after December 7, 1941, if filed within 18 months after this Act, and to pay awards not exceeding \$2,500." The bill is now in the hands of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Alexander Wiley, Chairman.

(8) The continuing program of the Federation in the field of Race Relations should be flexible enough to take into account changing trends, and broad enough to give the promotional program leeway to meet the challenges as they come.

THE "RACE" ISSUE

The fact that the Freedom Train passed by two large Southern cities, because citizens would not be permitted to view exhibits of our "democratic" heritage unless Negroes and whites were assigned separate hours, reminds us that 82 years after Gettysburg we still have far to go.

This is not just a Southern matter. In New York City an American Medical Association affiliate passed, last October, a resolution setting procedural machinery in motion to create an "extra" membership nationally in the A. M. A. for those doctors now excluded because of race or creed!

In the District of Columbia, which, remember, is owned and operated by the Federal Government, high school students participating in an oratory contest on the Bill of Rights in November were denied use of a public school auditorium because some of them were Negroes.

In Hartford in the past few months several insurance companies have finally broken with the past and employed a few Negroes, since the State passed the Fair Employment Practices Act.

Meanwhile, our Federal Government is debating whether we should grant aid to foreign governments using undemocratic procedures!

The report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights should be the basis of a study in every group of American citizens who love their country. Surely that includes churches and councils of churches. The 175 page document "To Secure These Rights" can be had for \$1.00 from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Printing Office, Washington, 25, D. C.

The Federation Mailbag

CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH

Wellsville,
Kansas

Dear Jack:

I appreciated the constructive approach of the membership meeting at Kansas City. It seemed to me the whole meeting moved on a high Christian plane which, if correctly reported to the public, should help to remove the stigma so often falsely applied to our organization. It should also give encouragement to liberal Christians throughout our denomination.

I would like to have 250 copies of the record so that I can place one in the hands of every minister in the Kansas Conference.

Cordially,

Herbert C. Brockman

RIDICULOUS HYSTERIA

Columbus,
Kansas

(Telegram)

NOTICED IN PRESS OUR CONVENTION TERMED COMMUNISTIC. RIDICULOUS. AN INSULT TO RELIGIOUS FREEDOM. IN MILITARISTIC THINKING THE ABSENCE OF WAR HYSTERIA CONSTITUTES COMMUNISM. I THOUGHT I WAS A SMALL TOWN CAPITALIST PROUD OF MY PIONEER ANCESTRY. AT YOUR RELIGIOUS CONVENTION WE WERE DUBBED COMMUNISTIC. IF THE LACK OF WAR HYSTERIA IS COMMUNISTIC I STILL WISH TO FOLLOW THE PRINCE OF PEACE AND DON'T WANT MY GRANDSON TAUGHT THE PRUSSIAN GOOSE STEP.

J. E. Berry, President

Berry Garment Mfgs., Inc.

LET'S HARMONIZE

Hoisington,
Kansas

Dear Jack:

In regard to your letter of the 9th, I wish to say that the Kansas City meeting will have the effect of harmonizing the membership views of current social, economic, and political problems with the Christian ethic, and should influence public opinion on that side of these questions.

Sincerely yours,

Jesse M. Mall

CONFERENCE AN INSPIRATION

St. Paul, Minn.

My dear Mr. McMichael:

I felt there was a very definite spiritual atmosphere pervading the Kansas City Conference this year—more so than last, and that the intensity of purpose to do and say the "right" thing from the standpoint of bringing about a better social order was most evident. It was—as last year—an inspiration to me.

I was in chapel when Mr. Woltman was introduced and understood him to say he had not stated in an article that you had been active in the Young Communist League. My recollection is that Bishop Ledden suggested he be asked to speak and that Mr. Woltman said he appreciated the courtesy, had nothing to say, and would stand or fall on the articles he wrote.

Sincerely,

Mildred Thomson

LEFT OF TAFT

Springfield,
Nebraska

Dear Sir:

I was in Kansas City Dec. 27 to 29 to the meeting of the Methodist Federation of Social Action. The program and the ideas expressed were very much to the left of Senator Taft but still to the right of those of Jesus Christ. It seemed to me that everyone there had this one question to ask and was seeking the right answer. That question was: What can we do to bring about His will being done on earth as it is in heaven? If the Communists are advocating some of the same things Christ did I do not believe we should forsake Christ's teaching and advocate the law of the jungle, selfishness, me first, and race segregation just because it conforms and is practiced in the "best" society. I am a farmer and own my own farm. However, I do not believe that when Christ said that He came to

bring abundant life He meant this was just for a few people. I believe God when He created this world put in it enough so everyone can have enough for all their needs and it is up to us who claim to be Christians to work to bring this about.

Yours truly,

A. M. Bortorft

CHINA BETRAYED

Editor, SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN

Stamford, Conn.

Dear Sir:

In all the discussion concerning your famous editorial on "Tarnished Saints," no one has evidently had any defense for Chiang-kai-shek and the Nationalist government in China. Certainly, I am not going to argue for restoration to sainthood. I always thought we did him a dis-service to put him there. Chiang came from the background of ruthless war-lord training. Most of us are only partially converted Christians anyway.

But why make the mistake again with Feng Yu-Hsiang? The *Zion's Herald* editorial in the December 31 issue ought to take all of us off Feng's bandwagon. The "Letter from China" in "Fellowship" for November, the organ of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, which has an honorable history of struggle for a Christian social order, ought to temper our enthusiasm for thinking the Chinese communists have the answer. As for coalition in China, didn't Secretary Marshall work for that and get himself disliked because of the time thus gained for the communists to organize their opposition. The amount of military aid to the nationalist government in the last year has been so negligible that friends of that government are quite willing that it should be stopped entirely.

The major cause of the chaos in China comes from the fact that President Roosevelt sold that country down the river at Yalta. That is the principal gripe which intelligent Chinese have. But do American leftists even hint at such a thing? I haven't read everything but I have yet to see much humiliation or confession concerning that item. It is so much easier to make a whipping boy of Chiang. He has his faults and his false friends and China does need a new Sun-Yat-Sen desperately but I haven't heard any friends of the Chinese communists nominate a tried and true man for Sun's position of leadership.

I have just returned from two months in China and I talked with over a hundred different people. There is a general feeling that the Communists are winning the war. Before they do, Chiang will go into exile and his opportunist party members will compromise with Russia on terms which will not relieve the chaos. In the meantime America will have lost a friend betrayed on two counts. We betrayed China by selling munitions to her enemy Japan. We betrayed her at Yalta and by unintelligent help to Chiang-kai-shek. He was never a saint but he could have been a better leader. For that we are partly to blame.

Very truly,

Lloyd F. Worley

THE RED, THE BLUE, AND THE GRAY

Chicago, Illinois

Dear Brother Smith:

I want to commend the management of SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN for the first article of the December issue. Assuming, as I do without question, that the speech of Mrs. Lewis was what Dr. Commager says it was, for I have not read it, his treatment of the matter and the discussion of "Disloyalty" which it provoked are in my judgment, very high class. Dr. Commager stuck carefully to facts, he avoided cheap wit, he discussed his subject with dignity of expression. The whole thing carried a powerful punch, as it seems to me every intelligent and unprejudiced person must realize.

I wish I could approve with equal earnestness all I read in SOCIAL QUESTIONS. Too often cheap and forced effort to be witty appears to be substituted for careful and impartial reasoning. Facts are overlooked, which is sometimes not much better than misstatement. Take for example an instance in "Behind the Headlines" in this same issue. "So it becomes a part of the cold war which we started when Roosevelt died and to which the Soviet leaders have naturally responded in kind." That is exactly true, but it overlooks what the Soviet started in the Baltic countries long before we became allies and in the Balkans while the war was in progress. If we did not start this cold war until after Roosevelt's death somebody else did, but in the eyes of too many who write in your columns the Soviet Union never did and never does anything wrong except when practically forced to it by capitalist nations.

I also want to say that I deeply deplore the editorial you have in this issue, "What I have cleansed..." With its thesis

I agree totally, but why drag in the "Civil War"? Why intensify the sectional tension? It is not as immoral as race intolerance but a powerful hindrance to the progress of every effort to deal in an intelligent and Christian way with the latter.

Incidentally the Meth. Church, if by this term you mean The Methodist Church, did not exist in 1912. Whatever you mean, in matters so controversial you would, in my judgment, do well to have more care for exactness of statement.

It is also my opinion that you gravely err in stating that the Social Creed is as much the law of the church as any of the other provisions of the Discipline. To defend that statement you would certainly have to interpret the word "law" very strangely, not to say loosely.

May I raise the question as to whether we want to legislate for Methodists in the field covered by the Social Creed? Do we not rather wish to lead them to see the soundness of its teaching and adopt and practice it? Note the wording of the last section, "20".

Permit me to ask also what is "deeply tragic" about the fact that "We, who have called attention to it..." will be censured? I commend to you Paul's "and therein I rejoice" in Philipians I:18.

And all your war-like talk about this controversy: what do you want to do with the people with whom you differ? Lick them or convince them? You may be able to lick them. I think that would be wholesome, but to convince them would be much more salutary in its effect upon the church and the cause of truth and righteousness. You may lick them but you'll not be likely to convince them by these tactics.

I bear you witness that you have a zeal for truth, at least truth concerning certain matters, but it could stand a little more enlightenment in the way of understanding people who hold opinions differing from yours. See Romans 10:2.

Sincerely yours,
J. E. Skillington

SIC ET NON

Evergreen Park, Ill.

Gentlemen:

After receiving my first copy of the BULLETIN some months ago I wrote you a letter of appreciation for the things for which you are standing. I have not had cause to change my first impression of the stimulating character of the material contained in the BULLETIN.

I do feel the need of expressing a thought or two generally, though, that seems to have challenged me as I have read. I am far from being reactionary in any sense and do not harbor too much like for any organized pressure group such as NAM or what have you, that are admittedly seeking to influence legislation and public opinion to their point of view without regards for the human facts involved. I am also very interested in the race issues that are now causing concern.

But I also see a danger in identifying any disagreement with "liberal" policies as "reactionary" with a sneer of contempt. I do not like either the implication that any group that some one or even some group terms "reactionary" is unAmerican just because he or it thinks so.

Prof. Commager in this last issue makes the statement in the form of a question, "Do not these corporations which pay for full page advertisements associating Americanism with the competitive system expect, ultimately to profit from that association?" I wonder whether the group whose ideals are otherwise always act from the unselfish motive of not being interested in profit to it. It seems too that such damning of the "competitive system" is at best not in good taste from a church which itself operates in and by that same system and even uses it in its organization and discipline. Further by what right have we as Christians decided all who live by this system are disobeying the will of God?

I also hope we shall not forget that this system of competitive enterprise has built up in America a freedom in spite of the many spots of abuse and restrictions we all know and lament, the like of which no other country including Russia has. Let us not forget that we can now assist a prostrate world through resources built up in this same system of free enterprise.

Why is it we who are interested in liberal policies and ideals always feel we have to jump to the defense of "poor" Russia when by our Christian ministers we have been told again and again of the enslavement that does exist in that country? Only this year we heard from one of good repute who tells tales of horror concerning that land of tears. I do not think Russia deserves or needs the pity we sometimes give her.

In short, sirs, though I revel in your excellent statement of many issues of our day I do regret that in the very brief time I have subscribed to the BULLETIN what seems to me to be a prejudice in favor of things Russian and not only a desire to see justice done. I for one do not like the spirit of the so-called investigations by Congress or many of the other groups who set out to persecute liberalism, but please, sirs, let us be fair and not succumb to the same type recriminations that our opponents level at us! Certainly the alternative to a corrupt system of freedom is not Russian communism!

Most sincerely,
R. A. W. Bruehl

TWISTING THE ARM OF THE LAW

"Your honor," said the lawyer, "I submit that my client did not break into the house at all. He found the parlor window open, inserted his right arm and removed a few trifling articles. Now, my client's arm is not himself, and I fail to see how you can punish him for an offense committed by only one of his limbs."

"Your argument," answered the judge, "is very well put. Following it logically, I sentence the prisoner's arm to one year's imprisonment. He can accompany it or not, just as he chooses."

Whereupon the defendant calmly removed his cork arm and walked out.
—Office Appliances

Resolutions Adopted by the

METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL ACTION

December 29, 1947

RESOLUTIONS ON THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH AND AGRICULTURE

GOALS:

1. The maintenance and protection of family operated farms as a way of life.
2. Farmer controlled cooperatives.
3. The expansion of soil conservation and restoration programs.
4. The improvement and creation of rural community services.
5. Cultural, health, educational standards as high as those enjoyed by the rest of the nation.
6. Close integration of town and country life.
7. Maintenance of a high level of industrial employment at good wages, as one of the main pillars for continued satisfactory farm income.

THE AGRICULTURAL PROBLEM:

1. Corporate farming, production efficiency, and displaced farmers are three great factors in the problem.
2. Increase of prices for farm products is not a basic solution.
3. Unfair land distribution and unfair farm credit structure are basic causes of the problem.

FOUR CURES OF RURAL DISADVANTAGE

I. Organization:

- a. The family farmer is a victim of the economy of corporations and trusts, since he buys at retail prices and sells at wholesale prices. Also to this economy of corporations and trusts he pays for transportation and distribution services.

- b. There is a "poverty gap" between what the family farmer receives for his products and what he pays for what he buys.
- c. Subsidies, price control and purchases by the government are not the ultimate answer to the problem.
- d. Cooperative buying, cooperative selling, cooperative production and manufacturing and processing of farm supplies and products are the best ways the farmer can escape the corporation and trust economy. What the Hill-Flannagan Bill would do to the fertilizer monopoly is a case in point.

II. *New Jobs and Industries for Surplus Rural People:*

- a. At present 9 million heads of families look to agriculture for a living. When farming efficiency fully comes, 2½ million of these will be displaced.
- b. The cities may not be able to absorb these 2½ million families.
- c. In new rural jobs and industries these people could produce new goods and services amounting to \$9 billion a year. Also because of this country people would be enabled to buy more goods produced in the cities.

III. *A Federal Program of Rural Reconstruction:*

- a. Community land agencies constituted by the federal government and empowered with the right of eminent domain should carry out an equitable distribution of land to family operated farms. A fair credit structure would be created by the government to enable the family farmers to receive this land by purchase.
- b. Community agencies constituted by the federal government should carry out a national program of farm production, management and mechanization.
- c. The merger of the Soil Conservation Service with the Extension Service as provided in the Cooley Bill is the antithesis of the legislation now needed for a federal program of rural reconstruction.
- d. The development of our river valleys into integrated flood control, navigation, irrigation and power projects, patterned after the successful T.V.A. is a necessary part of a federal program of rural reconstruction.
- e. That the expansion of reclamation be continued through irrigation, and that the traditional 160 acre limitation on use of irrigation water be maintained. It is further suggested that the Reclamation Service be primarily responsible for the reclamation program.

IV. *A New Rural Church Strategy: Methodism, A Case In Point.*

- a. Since more than 68 per cent of the members of the Methodist Church are rural people and 73 per cent of the ministers in this church serve rural charges, The Methodist Church should promote the organization of farmers, the creation of new jobs and industries for rural people no longer needed in farming, and work for a federal program of rural reconstruction.
- b. For the Methodist Church to embark upon such a rural program is most difficult, as long as the members of the General and Jurisdictional Conferences are practically all non-rural ministers and laymen. The rural constituency of the Methodist Church must become articulate enough to elect rural people to these conferences.
- c. The traveling expenses and other expenses incurred in serving a pastoral charge, should be a separate expense account of the charge and not subject to proration.
- d. A comprehensive rural program, if adopted, will not be carried out as long as rural preachers suffer financial penalties. The rural constituency of the Methodist church must demand a plan of equitable ministerial support in order to remove poverty from a life-time ministry to rural people.

I. Social action belongs to the substance of Christianity. It is neither an "extra" nor an appendix. Christianity is a religion with a character of its own. Its exaltation of moral values and its profound concern for the welfare of persons distinguish it among the religions of men. God is viewed not as an aloof spectator but as a participant in history in the interest of a rightly ordered world—a Kingdom of God. The Methodist Federation for Social Action is none the less religious because it emphasizes Social Action. That merely makes it religious in Christian terms. It "fronts" neither for Communism nor Capitalism. Its only "ism" is Christianity.

BE IT RESOLVED, THEREFORE, that all discussion and action in the present national conference of the Methodist Federation for Social Action is hereby declared to represent the effort of honest men, and women, to find Christian solutions for the pressing problems of our times and to discover for ourselves and our Church effective ways of serving God in the spirit of Jesus Christ.

II. Foreign nations importing foodstuffs from America for relief purposes should be required to cease converting same, or other foodstuffs, into alcoholic beverages for local consumption or for export. The domestic manufacturing and the importation of all alcoholic beverages should be stopped immediately.

III. The MFSA urges immediate and active opposition to the plan for standardization of armaments in the Americas as proposed in HR 3836 called the Inter-American Military Cooperation Act. We recommend instead that the money and loans proposed to be used for that purpose be invested in agricultural and industrial machinery and in sanitary equipment, thus helping to raise the standard of living of the peoples.

RESOLUTIONS ON THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH AND COLONIALISM AND THE FAR EAST

I *Korea*

MFSA calls upon our government to press with vigor joint action by the United States government and the USSR with the concurrence of United Nations for immediate simultaneous evacuation of troops from Korea. We further propose that simultaneously an international commission be established to oversee the simultaneous withdrawal of troops, to provide police protection until the Korean Government is established, and to hold a free election. The date for the discharge of this international commission would be at such time as both the commission and the Korean Government agreed that its purpose had been served and was no longer needed.

IMPLEMENTATION: Copies to United States State Department and to the Secretary-General and the Chairman of the Security Council of United Nations.

II *Formosa*

MFSA is deeply concerned about the conditions prevailing in Formosa and urges the forthcoming Peace Conference to give reconsideration to the disposition of this island. We request the representatives of the Government of the United States to urge with regard to the future government of Formosa that the wishes of the population as expressed in a full plebiscite be given primary consideration. We oppose any proposals for U. S. or other foreign military bases or controls in Formosa.

IMPLEMENTATION: Copies to Far Eastern Commission, the United States State Department, the Embassy of China in Washington, D. C.

III. *Indonesia*

MFSA urges the United States State Department to support the rightful claims of the Republic of Indonesia to full

independence. We also urge that the United States State Department initiate in the Security Council a resolution providing for a plebiscite in East Indonesia and Borneo to allow the people to decide whether or not they desire to affiliate with the Republic or remain with the Dutch political framework.

IMPLEMENTATION: Copies to United States State Department, the Chairman of the Security Council and the Indonesian Delegation at United Nations.

IV. Okinawa

In view of the approaching peace conference for the purpose of formally concluding the war with Japan and because certain claims have been advanced in China, Japan, and the United States in regard to the future sovereignty of the Ryukyu Islands; and since the people of the Ryukyus Islands have, during their recorded history of nearly two thousand years, maintained their own independent and unique institutions, culture, and national characteristics, and for the most part an independent government; the MFSA requests the representatives of the Government of the United States of America at the forthcoming peace conference to urge that with regard to the determination of the future government of the Ryukyu Islands the wishes of the population as expressed in a free plebiscite be given primary consideration.

IMPLEMENTATION: 1. Copy to the Far Eastern Commission, the State Department of the United States of America and to the Embassy of China in Washington, D. C.

2. Co-operate with Friends of Okinawa in its efforts in behalf of the cultural and national rehabilitation of the Ryukyus.

3. Co-operate with the FMC Committee on Okinawa in the religious rehabilitation of the Ryukyus.

V. China

We urge immediate withdrawal from China of American military advisory groups and the cancellation of military training projects.

We urge an embargo upon munitions or other military aid to China from the U. S. and further that we ask the U. S. government to request the UN Security Council to end all unilateral action in China.

We approve a long-range reconstruction program for China, but only after China has achieved a unified, coalition government with a more nearly proportionate representation of the political groups.

We urge that the United States contribute food for China on the basis of need, and under UN auspices.

We call upon the Division of Foreign Missions of the Board of Missions of the Methodist Church to urge through the agency of the Foreign Missions Conference an assembly of Protestant leaders interested in China to formulate a Protestant policy and program disassociated from the American government policy in China in the light of new developments; and that the findings of this Conference should be available to the State Department.

We recommend that the Division of Foreign Missions of the Board of Missions of the Methodist Church dispatch at the earliest possible time as large a number of missionaries as may be permitted to work in North China and Manchuria.

IMPLEMENTATION:

1. Copies of the above action be forwarded to the Foreign Missions Conference of North America; the Board of Missions; the United States State Department and the Chinese Embassy.
2. We urge Methodist Churches to study current US policies toward China and to make use of Chinese students and other citizens who may be in this country.
3. We recommend that the Executive Committee of the MFSA be authorized to submit by April 1 in the name of the Federation a memorial concerning China to the General Conference.

VI. American Colonial Policy

As Americans we need to continue our opposition to all imperialism in this postwar period.

We condemn the demand of the United States to have certain Pacific Islands designated as "strategic areas" by the Security Council in order that we may have sole trusteeship rights.

We confess our lack of planned social and economic assistance to the people of Puerto Rico, Guam, and other dependencies.

We regard the recent action of Panama in denying the United States the right to military bases in that country as a proper rebuke to American imperialism and militarism.

IMPLEMENTATION: Copies to the President and the Secretary of State, to the President and Vice-President (Senorita Gumersinda Paez, President of the Inter-American Congress of Women) of Panama.

VII. Concerning United Nations

MFSA deplors the use of threats and pressures when used by adherents of any proposal as an attempt to gain support for their causes in the General Assembly of United Nations. We believe that the success of United Nations in the future is dependent upon the ability of each member nation to exercise its judgment without any semblance of coercion. Only through such free expression of opinion by the peoples of the world will its decisions carry the moral compulsion without which United Nations is impotent.

IMPLEMENTATION: Copies to the United States State Department United States Delegates at United Nations, Chairman of delegation of all Member Nations of United Nations.

VIII. Palestine

We are concerned about the rights and welfare of Jews and Arabs in the Near East. We do not believe that resort to violence will produce any lasting solution to the present problems of Palestine. We have sympathy with the needs and points of view of both groups.

We call on our government to work through the United Nations on behalf of the welfare of both Jews and Arabs in Palestine.

IX. Displaced Persons

We urge the passage of the Stratton Bill or its equivalent admitting to our country large numbers of displaced persons, and we call on churchmembers to aid in placing them.

RESOLUTIONS ON THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH AND LABOR

I. To extend, strengthen, and cooperate with:

A. The democratic trade union movement which is:

1. an indispensable tool through which the workers themselves, through collective bargaining, can have a direct, democratic voice in the imperative process of expanding peoples purchasing power, which serves as a stimulus to more production and employment;
2. essential to extension of industrial democracy as a necessary bulwark or political democracy.

B. Liberal and progressive employers who are devoted with us to the application of the Gospel to industrial life and will work with us for those changes demanded by the Gospel ethic.

This program emphasis leads to such specifics as—

1. Favor careful reconsideration of the labor legislation now in force, looking forward to constructive revision of that legislation and the repeal of the Taft-Hartley law so as to provide adequate guarantees to organized labor of the rights that have been established by law and judicial practice and to insure equal right for collective bargaining.
2. Maintain consistent opposition to state and federal attacks on labor's rights.

3. Urge members of MFSA to investigate ways and means to strengthen machinery in their respective states for conciliation and improved labor-management relations.

4. Extend Church-Labor cooperation in all possible ways.

In particular—

- a. Confer with NAM officials to express appreciation of the recent revisions in many of their policies regarding trade unions and to express our hope that in any further (continuance or) development of Church and Industry Conferences representatives of labor will be invited.
- b. Espouse fair labor standards and democratic collective bargaining within the institutions of the Church, and social security benefits for all church employees.
- c. Support training program among both ministers and laymen in the interest of religion and labor.
- d. Support and encourage annual conferences, the General Boards of Missions and Church Extension, and of Education, and the Bishops in the appointment of specially trained Ministers of Labor and Industry.

II. We wish to commend

- A. The Detroit Conference for setting up a work seminar in labor-management relations for seminary students, June 11, August 23.
- B. Division of Home Missions of the Board of Missions for the appointment of a staff member in the area of church and industrial relations.
- C. Department of Christian Education of Adults of the Board of Education for setting up regional seminary and social action conferences in cooperation with conference boards of education.

III. We memorialize the General Conference

Out of the discussions in the commission have emerged the proposals calling for the preparation of memorials to General Conference. The limitations of time available during the sessions of the annual meeting make it impracticable to undertake the preparation of those memorials during the session. We, therefore, recommend that the annual meeting commit to the special committee named by their commission, Dr. Nichols, Dr. Harry Ward, Dr. Hopkins, and Dr. Charles Schofield, with power the responsibility for perfecting the memorials and submitting them to the secretary of the General Conference.

The memorials are:

1. An alternative to a memorial adopted by the Virginia Annual Conference which forbids a bishop to appoint a member of an annual conference under his presidency for service within "the bounds of the area of another bishop except for a specific list of appointments" by adding to that list that of "minister of labor."
2. A memorial adding to the list of appointments which a bishop is authorized to make that of "minister to labor and industry" defining the nature and function of that appointment. A memorial making it possible for a minister to retain his status as an ordained minister without being put on a supernumerary basis when:
 - a. He accepts employment by the union and does liaison work between labor and the church.
 - b. He does not conduct church services each Sunday but continues his liaison work between labor and the church.

IV. The resources of The Methodist Church be utilized to enlist and train men and women, lay and ministerial, who choose as a career life work within the labor movement.

- A. The Department of Leadership Education, Division of the Local Church, Board of Education, be urged to include in its curriculum courses on the Christian churchman in industrial relations.

- B. The deans and professors of the schools of religion of The Methodist Church be urged to include in a forthcoming conference a study of the seminary curriculum as it relates to the changing economic order and to include in the respective schools additional courses in this area.

- C. The Commission on Ministerial Training be urged to include in its courses of study and pastors' schools studies on the church and industrial relations. We further recommend that the Federation urge Dr. J. Richard Spann to consider fitting as the theme for the annual conference on Ministerial Training the relation to and function of the church in the field of labor-management relations.

- D. The Federation for Social Action proceed to set up a commission consisting of representatives of (1) members of the youth section of the Federation, (2) members working within organized labor and (3) representatives of graduate schools of religion, colleges, and the General Board of Education, this commission to study and report at the next membership meeting of the Federation, ways in which youth may be enlisted, trained and counselled while in training for life work within the labor movement.

- E. We recommend to the Council or Commission on Christian Vocations that is now being established the inclusion of active service in leadership in the trade union movement as one of the types of Christian life service and the development of a program of enlistment and training for this type of service.

V. Whereas many ministers of The Methodist Church report that they have requested special appointments for which they are peculiarly fitted by reason of commitment, training, and experience, such as appointments to charges composed of members of various racial groups or laboring persons, and

Whereas these pastors feel they are unable to render their greatest service in appointments which do not fully challenge them, the Methodist Federation for Social Action petitions the Council of Bishops to study this entire matter, review the present policy regarding appointments to these charges, confer with their respective cabinets, study the needs of appointments in areas of social tension, review the peculiar qualifications of ministers of their conferences with a view to appointing to these charges those persons especially fitted and challenged by the problems presented.

RESOLUTIONS ON AMERICAN-SOVIET RELATIONS

The present critical international situation presents us with a major challenge to our Christian faith. We recognize that this is very far from being a Christian world and that we have to do with forces and with people that are both indifferent and openly antagonistic to the Christian ideal. International relations have been and continue to be directed upon the basis of bald and unapologetic selfish national interests and rest back upon an ultimate appeal to naked force. In the face of this the universal practice of nations and governments, the Christian faith stands forth affirming our conviction that non-violence and goodwill represent a way of action that is more effective in the long run than the way of power politics. The record of history is clear that a national policy built upon the service of selfish national interests, and predicated upon an ultimate reliance upon military force leads inevitably to armed conflict. Therefore we lift our voice in urgent appeal to the leaders of our government to surrender the methods of war, whether "hot" or "cold", and to seek a solution of our relationships with the government of Russia through understanding, goodwill, the mutual respect for the legitimate rights and interests of each of our great peoples and cooperation through the structure and processes of the United Nations.

We recognize that the need of people in the war-ravaged lands is desperate and imperative. We heartily approve the action of the present administration and of the National Congress in recognizing our responsibility as a nation through a special appropriation passed by the special session of Congress. We urgently appeal to the Administration that, in the interests of peace, of international goodwill and of the building of the structure of an enduring international community, the administration of such emergency relief should proceed upon the basis of human need, without respect to political philosophy, to position occupied in the late world war, or to any other consideration except human need and our ability to render aid. We lift our voice in vigorous protest against any and all exploitation of human need in the interests of a "cold war" or of any other political objectives.

In a world so intimately and intricately interrelated as is ours, the people of the United States cannot escape responsibility for sharing generously in economic aid for the reconstruction of a war-ravaged world. Such aid as we are able to offer should be non-political, generous and non-discriminatory, and should be made available to all suffering and war-devastated countries needing relief and rehabilitation. It should be designed to meet and serve human needs, and not used as an implement in a "cold war". It should not be used as a political weapon to divide a world, already sorely torn asunder and in desperate need of achieving genuine unity. It should be so offered and administered as to help toward the uniting of the interdependent West and East of Europe, should foster peace, not war, and should be so channelled as to build and strengthen, rather than bypass and weaken, the United Nations. Whatever the nature or extent of aid which our government may provide, it should be channelled, not unilaterally, but in and through the United Nations.

We would call attention to the increasing degree to which the civil offices of our government are coming into the hands of men whose primary training and experience has been in one or another of the branches of the armed services. Without impugning the honesty or devotion of any of these public servants, we would call attention to that which has been the sustained and determined policy of our government ever since its establishment, the severance of all civil functions from military controls. The very nature of military training and experience is such as to build distrust of democratic principles and to accustom men to an acceptance of resort to armed violence as a legitimate and normal method of implementing the policies of the state.

In order to deal constructively and effectively with the threat of a growing militarization of our national life and the menace of another global war, we affirm our conviction that our government should adopt substantially the following measures—these to be taken together as inseparable elements in a constructive program for national and international security and enduring peace:

1. We should with studied purpose predicate our total foreign policy upon the assumption that war is not inevitable and that it is our considered purpose to seek for peaceful methods of resolving the tensions now existing between our government and that of Russia.
2. We should stop at once the manufacture of atomic bombs.
3. We should whole-heartedly support the proposal that the use of atomic bombs in warfare, bacteriological and chemical warfare and other means of mass destruction be renounced and prohibited.
4. We should support the continued exploration through the Security Council and the Committee on the Control of Atomic Energy, of ways and means for establishing effective international controls of the processes of atomic fission.
5. We should indicate our readiness, upon the concurrence of the other major powers in substantially these proposals, to destroy at once our present stockpile of atomic bombs.
6. We should propose to the other governments in the United Nations, the prohibition of all forms of compulsory military training, through a covenant prepared through the United Nations and ratified by all the signatory governments.
7. We should urge and give our unqualified support to the

Security Council's ratifying the proposal adopted by unanimous vote of the Assembly of the United Nations for a universal reduction and limitation of armaments, with inspection and without the limitations of the veto.

We hereby reaffirm our unqualified opposition to the bill, now before the national Congress, to set up a program of compulsory universal military training. This constitutes a reversal of American public policy and a negation of the basic principles of our democracy. It would serve only to inflame the present critical international situation and render all of our efforts toward the conclusion of a stable and enduring peace more difficult. It would tend to alienate peoples and governments now friendly toward the United States of America and further increase the growing suspicion and fear of our overwhelming military and naval power. It would fasten upon us a burden of expense that would banish all hope of relief from our present heavy tax burden for our generation and would imperil the continuance of programs of public health, public education and social security that are absolutely indispensable for the maintenance of a prosperous democratic society.

In the light of the vigor with which the proponents of this measure are pressing for its early enactment, we face a situation which calls for a maximum of political action without delay. We, therefore, urge that the members of the Methodist Federation for Social Action follow the leadership of the Council of Bishops and of the Methodist Commission on World Peace in all steps which they may recommend to counteract the propaganda for universal military training. We urge every member of the Federation to contact, at once, and as often as he may find occasion until the matter is finally settled, the representatives of his community in both the Senate and the House of Representatives, and any other members of Congress whom he may be able to reach, urging their opposition to the proposal.

This whole matter is so urgent and of such primary importance that we would bring to the attention of the members of the Federation the following paragraphs from a statement recently issued by the "Inter-church Committee of the American-Russian Institute"; "It is the duty of every Christian to mobilize all resources of religion and all moral forces toward the establishment of better relations with the Soviet Union. Our Christian Gospel teaches not distrust but faith, nor suspicion but understanding, not war but peace. Unless the Christian Church points the way to peaceful living together on this earth, the coming of peace will be delayed. We must lift a united voice against the madness of splitting the world into two armed camps. . . This is a time for decision and action. Every thought, word and deed on this subject either widens the gap between the East and the West or helps to bridge it for friendly cooperation and a peaceful solution to the problem.

"The peoples of the United States and the Soviet Union want peace. The governments of the United States and the Soviet Union have officially voiced their desires for peace and their abhorrence of war. The participation of the United States and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics as leading and vital powers in the United Nations is an accepted fact. We call all Christians to join us in a great spiritual crusade to put American-Soviet relations on a foundation on which we can build a world of lasting peace."

We have hailed with high appreciation the action of the United Nations condemning all forms of war-mongering. We urge all members of the Federation to use all their influence to bring to a stop all propaganda advocating either the desirability or the inevitability of war with any other government, and every kind of statement which festers suspicion, distrust, and ill-will toward any other people. We rejoice in the vigorous actions taken by the Council of Bishops of the Methodist Church and pledge our wholehearted support of the program which they propose for the promotion of world peace.

We recommend that the Executive Secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Action consult with the Executive Secretary of the Commission on World Peace concerning the

practicability of a united interdenominational program in cooperation with such non-denominational agencies as the Federation of Atomic Scientists in a program of public education on behalf of the international control of atomic energy and world peace.

We accept as a major responsibility of the Federation the fullest cooperation with the Council of Bishops, the Commission on World Peace, the General Board of Education and the General Board of Missions and Church Extension, in bringing to the attention of men and women in our churches and in our communities, reliable and accurate information about Russia, China, the East Indies, Greece, and the total European situation, in stimulating groups of churchmen and other citizens in uniting in studying the problem of international relationships and the building of a stable world government, and set ourselves in every practicable way to help to build a vigorous public opinion on behalf of international goodwill, cooperation, world government and peace.

RESOLUTIONS ON THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

We express our appreciation to the President of the United States for the appointment of the Committee on Civil Rights and further request that he set up standards to implement them. We express our gratification for the contribution made by this report to the advancement of civil rights in the United States.

1. We recommend the use of democratic pressures at the local level to get passage of Rep. Sabath's House Resolution No. 46 abolishing the Un-American Activities Committee.

2. (a) We agree with the bishops of the Methodist Church in admitting "the right of any agency, governmental or other, to scrutinize carefully the fitness of any applicant for public post but we insist that the examination of employees already chosen by the government itself should not be conducted in un-American ways. By such ways we mean the dismissal of employees without informing them of the charges against them and without granting them opportunity of facing their accusers. We protest against judging men by vague and unsubstantiated assertion of their holding subversive views, or of associating with so-called suspicious characters. We maintain that such methods are not calculated to secure a high type of public servants, and we declare our judgment that these methods are themselves violations of constitutional guarantees, and are therefore un-American."

(b) We ask the Congress of the United States to repeal Public Law No. 808 which denies the right of hearing and appeal in cases of dismissal to employees of the State, War and Navy Departments.

(c) We ask the President of the United States to carry out the recommendations of his Civil Rights Committee and see to it that federal employees now being screened in accordance with his Executive Order No. 9835 be protected by the drafting and enforcement of the standards necessary to protect their constitutional rights.

(d) Also holding grave doubts as to the constitutionality of the President's order No. 9835 authorizing the Attorney-General of the United States to publish lists of subversive organizations without hearings, and believing there are sufficient laws to deal with them, we call upon the President of the United States to withdraw such presidential order.

3. We pledge our continued efforts to secure passage by the Congress of a federal anti-lynching law.

4. We call upon the Congress to enact a federal FEPC.

5. We call upon the Congress to abolish the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting.

6. We urge Congress to return to the principles of the Wagner Act by repealing the Taft-Hartley Act which we believe is unfair since it limits rights of both employer and employee to bargain collectively with representatives of their own choosing; it requires a political test for using facilities of N.L.R.B. and it denies the right of political activity to organized labor.

7. We express opposition to the principle of requiring members of any political party to register as agents of a foreign government, such as the Nixon Resolution contemplates.

8. We urge churches and churchmen to set up local committees to fight discrimination in employment and housing in local communities, in harmony with the report of the President's Civil Rights Committee.

9. We express our appreciation of the CBS School of the Air's program against racial discrimination and commend all such agencies of education and public information for efforts in this field of human relationships.

10. We express our appreciation to the President of the United States for his Christmas Amnesty Proclamation restoring citizenship rights to a considerable number of religious conscientious objectors, but feel strongly that it should be extended to include all conscientious objectors.

11. We affirm our belief in and support of the Social Creed of the Methodist Church.

RESOLUTIONS ON THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH AND EUROPE

I. *Relief and Rehabilitation* (Marshall Plan)

We affirm the Christian moral belief that meeting human need comes before profits or cartels or the establishment or preservation of any given political system. Therefore:

a. The peoples of Europe should be encouraged in their right to establish or maintain the forms of peaceful government that most appeals to them and does not violate the rights of other people.

b. American attempts at cooperation toward recovery should be directed to a positive approach toward total reconstruction and not used as a stop gap measure or as a means of political pressure.

c. Political and economic cooperation should be directed toward European and world unity and toward healing the breach between agricultural Eastern and industrial Western Europe.

d. We must face a new day in which the common peoples are asserting and taking their basic human rights in directing their own destinies and we must not try to preserve the status quo of special privilege.

e. We should encourage the establishment of co-operatives in Europe wherever the people desire them.

f. We recommend that American aid be channelled through the United Nations organizations and not by unilateral agreements and that aid in no wise be used for political pressure.

g. Price controls in the United States on exportable commodities is necessary if the value of money loans is not to be destroyed.

h. We recommend that a copy of the foregoing be sent to the Secretary of State, the Honorable George C. Marshall.

i. We recommend that a copy of the foregoing be sent to the General Conference of the Methodist Church meeting in 1948.

II. *The Vatican*

a. We could call upon all Americans to decline the call to the "Holy War" being preached by the Vatican and its emissaries.

b. We call attention to the fact that freedom of religion has been eliminated in Spain and any other Fascist or Catholic dominated countries while there is freedom of religion in the Russian territory.

c. We call the attention of all Americans to the fact that the Vatican is a state with its territorial integrity, its postage system, its authority to make treaties and concordats with other nations, and with its clerical-political representation in nations throughout the world including the United States of America and that the Vatican has also its propagandists disseminating propaganda in line with the political as well as the religious ideologies of the Vatican State.

d. We request the Department of Justice to conduct an investigation to determine whether or not agents of a foreign

power, namely the Vatican State, are violating the foreign agents registration act.

e. We ask the recall of the President's personal emissary to the Vatican who is now holding the rank of ambassador.

f. We hold it as a matter of principle that no cleric should be exempt from the civil laws of the country in which he resides.

III. *The United States of America and Balkan Relations*

a. We note with joy the testimony of our Bishop, Paul Garber, and that of the clergymen who visited Yugoslavia that clerical domination is on the decrease and that freedom of worship, hitherto unknown, is on the increase.

b. We note with sorrow the perversion of the American democratic tradition in the support of a corrupt and tyrannical government in Greece which violates the will of the majority of the people of Greece and we call for the end of the Truman Doctrine in Greece. American resources should be used for the relief and reconstruction of the peoples of Greece under a government of their own choosing and they should be administered through the United Nations.

IV. *American Policy in Germany*

a. We hold that it is essential that Germany be unified with trade between the East and West.

b. Germany must also be de-Nazified, decartelized, and demilitarized.

c. Heavy industry installations should be socialized and those in the Ruhr internationalized for the benefit of the peoples of Europe. (There should be a Ruhr Valley Authority established under the authority of the United Nations).

V. *Anglo-American Relations*

a. We note the growing British exports resulting from a planning economy and we would encourage the British peoples in their search for a better way.

b. We oppose any effort to make economic aid to Great Britain conditional upon our government's approval of British political and economic institutions.

c. We should warn our statesmen and economists of the danger inherent in American attempts to establish a streamlined imperialism on the waning structure of the British or any other empire.

RESOLUTIONS ON HUMAN RELATIONS IN THE CHURCH AND THE COMMUNITY

The question surrounding the denial of human rights to individuals and groups because of race or religion has grave implications for the present and future peace and security of the entire world. The contribution of the Church will be determined by the effort exerted within its own body to outlaw once and for all segregation and discrimination within its own organization structure, and program. The achievement of this goal will give the Church the right to work toward similar ends in the community.

I. *Human Relations in the Church*

We recommend that the Church work on the following specific needs within its own body:

1. Following the General Conference statement of 1944 that we look toward the ultimate elimination of segregation in the Methodist Church, we recommend that the policies and practices of all institutions of the Church be studied with special reference to racial segregation and steps be taken immediately to bring them in line with the social creed.

2. We recommend that steps be taken as speedily as possible to remove the stigma of segregation as evidenced by a separate jurisdiction and separate annual conferences for Negroes. As a parallel to such a move the segregated conference for Indians, Mexicans, and Orientals should also be studied and a system evolved that will make it possible to have geographical areas of administration without overlapping because of race.

3. We recommend that special attention be given by the entire Church to the recruiting, training, and employment of more colored personnel of the Methodist Church on its board staffs, and in institutions at home and abroad without discrimination. We further recommend that immediate steps be taken to eliminate segregated training centers for missionaries, deaconesses, and ministers.

4. We recommend that the boards and divisions of the Methodist Church include members of minority racial groups among their officers and that workers among or members of minority groups themselves be appointed to represent their respective groups on the Home Missions Council and other interdenominational Boards, Councils, and Commissions.

5. We recommend that the stated policy and practice of the Woman's Division relative to housing its national meetings on a non-segregated basis should be the stated policy of the Methodist Church and its boards for all its national meetings. Similar policies should then be urged for jurisdictions.

6. Youth and Adult Institutes and Leadership Training Schools should include on their faculties and in their groups members of other races, including Negroes.

II. *Human Relations in the Community*

As a means of implementing the principle of brotherhood in community life, we recommend the following specific steps:

1. That we work toward the abolition of segregation in community life, in such areas as restrictive covenants in housing, segregation in schools, employment opportunities, and the use of public services, such as theatres, hotels, restaurants, transportation, etc.

We call attention to the Springfield Plan as one medium for achieving these goals.

We request the Federation to express to Mr. Henry Gilligan, a leading layman of Methodism in Washington, D. C., and a lawyer, our dismay at his efforts to defend restrictive covenants before the Supreme Court of the United States.

2. That we commend the President of the United States and his committee on Civil Rights for their report, "TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS."

3. That we work for the enactment of legislation to provide federal aid to education with the following conditions implicit in our program:

a. Such federal aid should go only to public, tax supported, schools.

b. Such federal aid should be made on the absence of discrimination because of nationality, creed, or race and first claim on funds going to states practicing segregation be directed to eliminate any existing inequality in education in those states.

4. That we ask the Federation to request the National Education Association through its Commission for the Preservation of Democracy Through Education to get the facts relative to the curtailment of intercultural studies in the New York City schools, and to make recommendations to the NEA for proper action. We further commend the President's Report on Higher Education.

III. *Commendations*

Various organizations and boards of our Methodist Church have taken certain progressive steps to improve race relations, and merit our commendation. Some of these are:

a. The Woman's Division, which has recommended the abolition of segregation in the Methodist Church.

b. The Board of Temperance, which in a lease, forbids the management of the Cafeteria of the Methodist building in Washington, which it owns, to deny Negroes its services.

c. The Board of Education and the National Youth Conference, which have taken some definite stands against race discrimination.

IV. We recommend that the planning commission for the annual meeting of 1948 consider the value of providing program personnel with varying viewpoints, to avoid weighting

the issues in one direction without adequate chance for discussion of opposing views.

V. Finally, it is self-evident that the Methodist Church faces a task of great importance and real immediacy in providing unhampered channels for full fellowship across racial, class, and national lines.

The Despair of Democracy in Greece

(Continued from page 35)

in Athens will be implemented to exercise an undisputed control of Greece. The liberty loving towns of Greece, many of them built in inaccessible places in the days of the Turks to escape from oppressive authority, will now fall to the dictatorship of Royalist Athens.

I think of my friend Dimitri, a boy fourteen years old, how had his two legs, one arm, and one eye blown out by a booby trap after the Germans withdrew. We had hoped he would die. I saw him six months later. He was sitting in a chair, reading a book on American democracy.

He said, "We Greeks are terribly ashamed and sorry that you Americans have to see us in our present condition. We are proud. We have paid an awful price for our part in the war of freedom. Greece is like me, two legs gone, one arm and one eye gone. We need help. We don't want charity. We want to help ourselves. The British don't seem to understand us. We hope you Americans do. We have a special faith in America. You must help us to help ourselves. I'll be all right. Greece will be all right. See the book I am reading. It's on democracy. We want to build it like you have in America." Perhaps Dimitri is now a political prisoner.

Our policy should be to help Europe. Mr. Marshall says, "The American proposal for assistance to Europe is directed towards production, construction and recovery. It is a genuinely co-operative undertaking, which is being worked out in an atmosphere of mutual trust and with careful regard for the sovereignty of nations." This is an excellent statement of purpose. Nevertheless, the program thus far has been launched in an atmosphere of distrust on the part of the people who need our help; and on our part a lack of confidence in the people and the peoples' movements of Europe. We need to be more concerned about the sovereign rights of people which are the same regardless of nationality.

Can an undertaking of this kind be genuinely co-operative and can it be worked out in an atmosphere of mutual trust if it bypasses the United Nations? People should learn to turn to the United Nations for assistance instead of the Great Powers such as the United States, Great Britain and Russia.

Unilateral propositions cannot be conducted without or above suspicion, as is evident in every unilateral action up-to-date by any and all of the great powers. Assistance should be given on the basis of need without racial, political or other differences. The United Nations is the only agency capable of any semblance of impartiality. In the long run a unilateral policy such as we proposed will lead to our frustration and aloneness in world affairs. By using the United Nations we can give it prestige and experience and demonstrate our faith in the creation of a World Government.

Tensions in American Agriculture

(Continued from page 31)

inherent in the lack of unity that obtains within the farm population itself. The result is that farmers are often set off against each other. Many of the programs launched to aid the lower-income farmers have been restricted or discontinued at the insistence of the more prosperous elements of the farm population. But although the more prosperous farmers and their spokesmen are often inclined to disassociate themselves from the poorer farm elements, they use statistics which include all farm elements the better to show the plight

of the farmer and so gain the ends sought. Many more of the borderlines of tensions in American agriculture could be explored. But enough has been said already. To recapitulate: Farmers do not think of this as a likely time to discuss tensions in agriculture, but conditions do exist which issue in tensions, such as the increased commercialization and specialization of farming, the greater reliance on cash incomes and the decrease of live-at-home farming, the waning emotional value attached to the land as such, the rising capitalization of farm lands, the decline in the operation of the agricultural ladder and the lowering status of farm wage workers, the problems of the people who are leaving the land as cotton mechanization increases, and the tensions inherent in institutionalized differentials of certain elements of the rural population.

But what of the future? How can the forces operating to reduce tensions be strengthened? How can the forces that maintain and increase tension be weakened? It is the job of the churchman to stay wide awake to the rural situation and be ready to help wherever and in whatever ways he can to safeguard the American credo and the Christian ideal for all of our people. Sometimes the churchman's contribution may involve little more than encouraging the farm people to cooperate with their neighbors in conserving and restoring depleted soils, while at other times it will involve some of the most complicated and controversial phases of our local, national, and international life. Let me suggest in closing that the real danger the church faces is not that of dealing with hard and controversial problems, but rather in failing to deal wholeheartedly with them. Mankind needs the thoughtful and courageous action of the church; the church itself also needs it.

Blind Alleys and Open Roads

(Continued from page 19)

Our lay people, generally speaking, do not read books on social questions. Too few ministers read anything in this field. We must redouble our efforts. The *Bulletin* should be enlarged in number of pages and in circulation. More leaflet and pamphlet literature dealing in a simple but effective way with social problems should be issued. Books should be recommended. Conferences, forums, and discussions should be promoted. More sermons of broad social outlook need to be preached. "Educate, educate educate" should be our watchword for the coming years.

The open road of Christian fellowship in our common task invites us to a closer friendship. A book should be written on the tragedy of lone liberals in Methodism. A church leader is said to have remarked with reference to one of these, "We have one social reformer in that district—one headache is enough." We need mutual understanding, mutual encouragement. Hence the call for the organizing of Federation chapters in all our Conferences—not to consolidate power and to influence appointments, except on the basis of genuine merit, but for the sake of helping and encouraging one another and furnishing backing to those of our number who, at great self-sacrifice, and sometimes in the face of bitter criticism, are preaching the gospel message of Christ as it applies to social relations.

There is a road leading to the Interpreter's House. The church, the country, and indeed the whole world waits for the interpretation of current developments in our living together from the Christian point of view. The Federation has been doing this. There is immense value in shaping public opinion by carefully wrought-out statements and pronouncements. Take, for example, the resolution dealing with civil liberties which was adopted at the recent meeting of the Council of Bishops of The Methodist Church. It was written by Bishop Francis J. McConnell, who for thirty-two years was president of this organization. The resolution described the recent purges of alleged Communist sympathizers from government payrolls as "un-American," and said: "We protest against judging men by vague and unsubstantiated assertions of their holding subversive views or associating with so-called suspicious characters. We main-

REPLY TO BRUCE McM. W.

tain that such methods are not calculated to secure a high type of public servant, and we declare our judgment that the methods are themselves violations of constitutional guarantees and are therefore un-American."

The race issue is sometimes called the number-one problem of our day. Events in this field are developing thick and fast. The watchmen in the towers must not take their eyes off the evil of discrimination for a single moment. The Federation has a good record in this area. It will continue to speak out at every opportunity. We must give special attention to the problem now on the very doorstep of our nation and our church—the white man's treatment of the Negro. It will not do for us to proclaim "No discrimination" in theory and pay abstract homage to it while we fail to implement our convictions in practical life.

There is the labor problem. The Taft-Hartley law, and the strikes at home and abroad, are lifting up this issue into new and commanding prominence. Surely this whole labor-and-management issue will call for statements of the Christian nation again and again as the months come and go.

There is great need for Christian interpretation as it relates to war and peace. There is much superficial surface thinking here. The relation of basic causes to the terrible evil of war is little understood. It is not impossible that we may actually come face to face with another bloody conflict during the next quadrennium.

There are many other questions besides the four major ones I have mentioned that will call for interpretation and the effort to influence public opinion in the days ahead. The Federation will need to be "on the job," everlastingly alert.

On the signboard at the entrance to another highroad, we read directions to still another opportunity. Much can be done by direct contact in helping to promote the kingdom of God. At hearings, conferences, open forums, debates, and panels, Federation members have a unique chance to get great issues out into the open and to help in shaping public opinion after the Christian pattern. Organized Christianity has far more power and influence than it ever uses in helping to set trends in legislation toward the abolition of social evils and the development of better living conditions. The church can help also in preserving those democratic ideals and processes which at this very moment are in serious jeopardy.

There is a phrase that is frequently used in the pulpit and in the religious press. We are exhorted to "make Christ known." Popularly, what does this mean? Well, to churchmen it includes telling the gospel story and testifying to the power of Christ to work a spiritual change in the individual, doing missionary work along evangelistic, medical, and educational lines, and engaging in philanthropic and charitable activities. Unquestionably, all these meanings are in those three short words. But there is a depth of significance about this phrase which many professing Christians have never sounded. What is it to "make Christ known" in the full comprehensiveness of the words? We can never "make Christ known" unless, regardless of prejudice and fear of tradition and vested interests, we accept the whole gospel of our Lord both for the individual and for society. To "make Christ known" means to go to the root of things, to delve into the deep, underlying causes of individual and social misery and unrest. It means also that, when our eyes are opened to the abysmal paganism which lies at the base of the social order in which we are now living, we shall "cry aloud, spare not," and give ourselves as prophets and crusaders to the reformation of society after the pattern of the Sermon on the Mount.

The call is for social missionaries, men and women who will give themselves in full consecration, not only to the task of making Christ known as the Rebuilder of sinful men as individuals, but also to the rebuilding of a sinful society that the will of the Eternal may prevail in all human relations and the kingdom of God may become a reality in all the earth.

I speak as a friend,
Not too old to have forgotten "the tired tumult of my urges",
Far too old to wince if you should think me quaint.
I say to you, who have the inborn understanding of the word,
You, who belong to the priesthood of the Logos,—

Miss Upjohn was right.
Disapproval of certain acts,—well, yes.
But why not rather say, disapproval under certain conditions?
That is the mark of the man, as against the beast.
Miss Upjohn did not invent it,
Though she was faithful to it.

What do you really know, anyway, about *her* urges?
Stop making innuendoes, oblique observations, cryptic ophisms.
Come clean.
Was she right or wrong?
Just what is it that you think you can teach her?

I have been following your journey to a parallel.
Hold everything! Watch that parallax!
You are too good a poet for this to happen to you.
You dare not break the bond
Between you and Miss Upjohn.

—Donald Babcock

HOWEVER

Beneath the skull and in the brain
The capillaries function,
Unaware of martyrdom
Or coronary pain;
Supreme is unction,
Good is God
Three times conjugated,
God, the Father, intimated,
Son and Holy Ghost—
St. Sebastian in the nude,
St. Martin in the field—
Pain is three dimensional,
Triangular is man.

—B. McM. W.

Advent—1947

An analysis of press reports of the Kansas City meeting has been issued by the Executive Committee. Copies are available on request.

Please send along 25¢ to defray costs of preparation and mailing.